

# Theory/ Practice NEWS & LETTERS

'Human Power is its own end'—Marx

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25c

## Labor's real struggle still ahead



by Felix Martin, Labor Editor

When GM South Gate closed in 1982, I was forced to retire. To supplement my retirement so I could live, I took a part-time job with a school district as a janitor. The scale is \$14 an hour, but I fell into the two-tier wage system, so I get \$5.95 an hour and no benefits. Since I first wrote about this two-tier system during the McDonnell-Douglas strike last spring, it has become the central issue in strike after strike.

Just a few months ago the retail clerks in the major supermarket chains in Los Angeles accepted a contract allowing for a two-tier system in a few areas. Already management is applying it all over the place. Not only are workers at the check stands being replaced by new-hires at half their wage, but even the bookkeepers are being laid off. The lowest paid, the box boys (who earn a maximum of \$5.50 an hour), are being laid-off and replaced with new-hires at minimum wage. As one worker told me, "No one thought management would push this thing so far and so fast."

### CUT WAGES AND DIVIDE WORKERS

The reason this is being pushed so fast is that the capitalists know the "economic recovery" is a sham. They know the only way to raise profits is to cut wages. At the Fuller Company in Compton, Calif., a new contract was recently signed, and the union leader came out and claimed credit for working out such a "good deal" for the workers.

I talked to a foreman from Fuller who said the company ordered him not to say anything to the workers about the contract, because if they find out the truth they will be mad as hell. The "good deal" allows for a two-tier wage system with new-hires coming in at \$5.50 an hour, compared to the \$14 an hour of union scale. In six months the new-hires can make it to \$6 an hour. I asked him when can they reach union scale. He said, "Never."

The union leadership's capitulation to the two-tier system is also making it easier for capitalists to divide younger from older workers. GEMCO

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### Black World

## Of Haitian life, labor and revolt



by Lou Turner

Those who invented neither gunpowder nor compass  
those who tamed neither steam nor electricity/those  
who explored neither sea nor sky/but those who know  
the humblest corners of the land of suffering/those  
whose only journeys have been uprootings...

—Aime Cesaire (Return to My Native Land)

Uprooting the wretched reality which is Haiti will not be today or tomorrow, but it is a process that has begun. Thus, as American capitalism was "discovering" Haiti as a safe, tax exempt haven for operating 300 of the lowest wage (\$2.65 a day!) assembly plants found anywhere in the world, presumably free of social unrest, the ruling Duvalier "corruptocracy" was rocked by four days of mass revolt this past May.

Though the press dismissed the events of May as "food riots," eyewitnesses described them as nothing less than "a people's revolt." It was a people's revolt that, naturally, was suppressed brutally by the military. Nevertheless, it was one sparked by the deepest strata of society, poor Haitian women, and which drew in the broad masses of Haiti's urban poor in the coastal towns of Gonaives and Cap-Haitien who took to the streets shouting "Down with hunger! Down with misery! Down with Duvalier!" as they destroyed the houses of Duvalier's hated secret police, the Tonton Macoute.

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## Black dimension remains pivotal

# Strikes open battle against Reaganism

by John Marcotte

No sooner were the votes safely in on election night than the cynical Reagan administration chose that very moment to "leak" the fantasy story of Russian MIGs on their way to Nicaragua. That was but the latest taste of Reagan's war on the minds of the American people — to show tiny Nicaragua as the supposed aggressor against the mighty U.S., which has never for a moment accepted the Nicaraguan people's throwing off of the hated U.S.-Somoza dictatorship.

Dominican workers living in the U.S., who have not forgotten the 1965 U.S. invasion of their land, and who as well suffer from Reaganism as sweatshop workers, are vehemently anti-Reagan. One said, "Reagan won because he spent the last six months making people think the economy was better. This man likes to boss around other countries, and now that the election is over he'll try to grab up some more, like Nicaragua."

### NO MANDATE FOR WAR

The idea that Reagan will start a war is almost universal among Black workers as well. "I don't feel Reagan has any mandate to do anything he pleases, and I hope he doesn't think he does," said a Black worker, the mother of one son in the Navy and another draft-age son.

The outstanding feature of this election, for anyone looking at continued opposition to Reagan, was the overwhelming 90% rejection of Reaganism by Black vot-

ers, who once again demonstrated that the Black masses are the vanguard of the American Revolution. One reason many other Blacks and poor people didn't vote at all may be because they remember that it took a Democratic-controlled Congress to pass most of Reagan's earlier budget cuts, showing that Reaganism, far from being the private preserve of the Republican Party, is the ideology of the new stage of computerized production.

Reaganism's huge military expenditures, paid for on credit, have set the stage for an economic crisis that will not only lead to no boom. It could very well be bust. Indeed, the threat not only of a slowed U.S. economy, but of a renewed world recession in 1985, is so urgent that even Reagan's own advisers have thrown out his forecasts for growth. And with the election safely over, his economists have discovered that last quarter growth was not 2.9% but only 1.7%!

A white production worker summed up Reaganism this way: "Reagan's got the cowboy philosophy. It's hooray for me and the hell with you. But no matter who would have won the election, the economy's going to come crashing down in these next four years."

We are faced with a budget deficit of \$210 billion and rising, while Reagan's former chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, Martin Feldstein, predicts a \$250 billion deficit by 1989 and a 15% tax increase just to pay the high interest on that debt.

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## Pinochet's Chile: revolt, repression, revolt



A protest in Santiago against the government of Pinochet and the torture of dissidents

Editor's Note: Once again Chile has erupted, and General Pinochet, the murderer of thousands, has imposed a state of siege. Reports tell of thousands of arrests and torture, as well as of mass resistance. Below we print one report received directly from Chile.

Oct. 29—The day before the first general strike against the Pinochet dictatorship. After 11 years of terrible repression and impoverishment of the population. After a year and a half of mass protests, first monthly, then daily, in the cities and the shantytowns that surround them, principally by the poor and unemployed, more and more involving nearly the whole country. Since strikes are illegal, since there are so many unemployed to take your place if you are fired, since you will never find another job with 35% unemployment, since prices are rising—will those with jobs dare to risk them?

After months of indecision on the part of the known opposition groups—and months of calls for it from the mass-based "popular" organizations—the general strike has been set by the Popular Democratic Movement (MDP) and Socialist Block groupings, but disowned by the centrist and rightist opposition groups. Pinochet has made clear he will not compromise absolute military dictatorship with any demands for change, not even going through the motions of discussing "democracy" with any opposition group.

### THE INVASION OF RENCA

No one knows what will happen the next morning. Workers do not tell even those working next to them

what they will do.

Renca, a working class neighborhood in northern Santiago, is full of discussions all day about the next day's protest activities. Since political meetings are outlawed, people go in and out of the apartment of well-known community activists to hear the plans. Late at night the secret police (CNI) come to the door. They take away three who have committed no crime, not even under the laws of dictatorship. Their organizing activity is mostly with children and young people in cultural workshops and summer camps. Of course, these days in Chile, all gatherings are political ones. The three are taken off to a CNI torture center.

That night the CNI sweeps the city, arresting hundreds of people. Some are charged with crimes. Others are simply sent into internal exile for their political pasts. The three do not appear on any lists of prisoners. It is the most dangerous time, right after arrest, for the disappeared to be killed.

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## ON THE INSIDE

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# Revolutionary women in Chicago's history

by Azar

*Walking With Women Through Chicago History*, ed. Babette Inglehart, Salsedo Press, Chicago, 1981. \$4.95.

Chicago is a city rich in revolutionary history. The 1890s and 1890s for example were a period when the paths of so many women activists and thinkers crossed in Chicago: Lucy Parsons, Emma Goldman, Mother Jones, Eleanor Marx, Ida B. Wells, are but a few of the women who fought for the demands of poor, working-class, Black and immigrant women and for a new society.

*Walking With Women Through Chicago History* gives us a glimpse of the magnificent history of this city, and in doing so brings out women so often left hidden. The authors take us on four walking tours of Chicago, where the nearly 180 years of Chicago women's history is revisited.

## FROM MOTHER JONES TO LUCY PARSONS TO IDA B. WELLS

In the downtown Loop area, we meet Mother Jones, known as "the most dangerous woman in America" once she became active with both miners and textile workers' unions.

On the West Side we hear about the history of Hull House, founded in 1889 by Jane Addams and Ellen Gates Starr, which became home to hundreds of immigrant and poor working women as well as a meeting place for women on strike. North on Halsted, we learn of the four-and-a-half month long strike of 40,000 women garment workers in 1910.

On Prairie Avenue we hear briefly of Lucy Parsons, the Black-Mexican anarchist, as well as Emma Goldman.

In Hyde Park we meet the Black feminist and journalist Ida B. Wells, editor of *Free Speech* in Memphis, who founded the first Black women's club in Chicago in 1894. Finally, in Hyde Park the strands of Black as well as white and Indian women's struggles, and indeed, revolution, come together in two murals painted by Astrid Fuller, called "Women's Struggle" and the "Underground Railroad."

It is, however, no simple task to get this revolutionary image of Chicago's history at a first reading of *Walking With Women Through Chicago History*. You should be ready to go beyond the titles and subtitles which focus much of the time on business women, on education or finances, and in a few instances on politics. No category is created out of the Black dimension in Chicago, the revolutionary, anti-war and international impact of this city, the Haymarket events, and the participation of Emma Goldman, not to mention Eleanor Marx's visit to Chicago.

## WHERE ARE WOMEN AS THINKERS?

What is most sorely missed in this work, which has a bearing on our time, is the development as a category of women as thinkers, as theoreticians, as philosophers, which requires us, therefore, to look back at history not alone as narrative but interpretive. Such a perspective becomes especially crucial today, when in our struggles against Reaganomics and for a new society, the contribution of women as revolutionary thinkers and activists can help give a new direction to the movement. Take for example the category of Black women, who have seldom been recognized as thinkers. Two such women who are discussed in this work are Lucy Parsons and Ida B. Wells.

Lucy Parsons was involved in many turning points in the history of this country as a working-class woman and as a revolutionary feminist—in

## Karen Norman Defense

Detroit, Mich.—About 120 people, mostly women, gathered Nov. 16 at a benefit concert (called "Rape: More than a women's issue") for the Karen Norman Defense Fund. Karen Norman is a 19-year-old Wayne State University student who has three young children. She was raped May 5, 1984 by Lamont Powell, whom she killed while resisting his attack. The Wayne County Prosecutor has charged her with first degree murder, citing evidence that she knew her attacker; that he was stabbed 47 times; and that he was found naked and drunk. They disregard the fact that she called police herself to report the death, and are apparently asking her to prove she was raped. Her trial is scheduled to begin Dec. 10.

The benefit was sponsored by Wayne State Women's Monthly (a cultural feminist group) and the Karen Norman Defense Committee. One speaker for the Defense Committee was Mary Thomas, Karen Norman's grandmother, who pointed out that "a principle is at stake whether you can defend yourself against an attacker and not land in jail." Her defense attorney, Marjorie Cohen, said Norman "was victimized when she was raped, and now she is being victimized by the legal system."

The defense committee has asked supporters to fill Judge Beverly Jaspers' courtroom beginning on Dec. 10. Contributions (\$20,000 will be needed) can be sent to: Karen Norman Defense Committee, PO Box 3312, Highland Park, MI 48203.

the 1877 General Strike, the struggle for the 8-hour-day, the formation of the IWW and the Communist Party.

In the 1890s Lucy Parsons lashed out against abstract anarchists who were abandoning the question of "ending the wage slavery of human beings" and instead were reducing the struggle against private ownership to one of the institution of "free love"! She opened the pages of *Firebrand* to working class women who complained bitterly of sexual freedom of husbands when they had to deal with VD, unwanted pregnancies and being left alone with no support for the children.

Ida B. Wells was able to combine her unique and life-long anti-lynching struggles with the struggles against imperialism and her fight for women's rights. In her trips to Europe and throughout the U. S. she showed how the lynching of the Black was aimed at "getting rid of the Negroes who were acquiring wealth and property, thus trying to keep the race terrorized." She showed how the white man killed and raped the Black and refused to recognize any human relationship between the races. Wells fought bourgeois leaders such as Booker T. Washington, and never failed to criticize the women's movement, including the prominent Susan B. Anthony, for their refusal to deal with racism.

Today, when once again hunger and poverty have become Chicago's attributes, can we begin to combine *Walking with Women Through Chicago History* with study groups relating to Black, working-class and anti-war issues, never separating ourselves from the question of working out a full vision of what kind of a society we as women's liberationists want to build?

## Rape protest at CMU



Both students and faculty took part in a "Shatter the Silence" rally at Central Michigan University (CMU), Nov. 14, to support victims of sexual assault. A CMU graduate, who is prosecuting a former president of Sigma Phi Epsilon fraternity for rape, was harassed Oct. 28 by at least 50 fraternity members who banged on windows of the sorority house in which she was staying, while chanting obscenities naming her. The tires of her car were also slashed. Charging that to some in this fraternity "rape is sport," the assistant prosecutor cited five other women in the past two years who had accused Sigma Phi members of rape and were then intimidated into dropping charges. CMU has suspended the fraternity from campus for at least three years.



## women-worldwide

Clarence Pendleton Jr., Pres. Reagan's chairman of the Civil Rights Commission, said Nov. 16 (with Linda Chavez, staff director, at his side) that "comparable worth is the looniest idea since Looney Tunes came on the screen." The concept of comparable worth deals with sex segregation in the kinds of jobs men and women hold and the fact that women's wages average about 60% of men's. Pendleton stated that if salaries were "forced" higher in traditionally female jobs, employers would replace workers with machines.

Japanese housewives, from the small Tokyo suburb of Zushi, are leading a protest against a government plan to build (and pay for) a 900-unit apartment complex for American families stationed at the naval base at nearby Yokosuka on a section of a wooded wildlife preserve. The women's opposition forced the resignation of Zushi's three-term mayor, who supported the project, and made this construction a central issue in the next election.

Dr. Henry Morgenthaler was acquitted of conspiring to run an abortion clinic by the Ontario Supreme Court Nov. 9, in a case stemming from his 14-year fight to liberalize Canada's abortion laws (See N&L, Nov. 1975). Canadian feminists, though pleased at the verdict, point out that abortion is still illegal in Canada unless performed at an accredited hospital following approval by a panel of physicians. This "approval" process has caused delays averaging 8 weeks, thus increasing the danger of the procedure.

## Chilean woman speaks on women in Nicaragua

London—I recently heard a Chilean woman who had just returned from Nicaragua. She said that women are active in all areas of the struggle there, from organizing day care, literacy, health care and communal allotment campaigns, to fighting in the army. Women from the ages of eight to 60 are organized in vigilante groups checking out contra activities.

AMNLAE, the women's section of the Sandinista party, has three reserve battalions. She said the women are highly combative but still oppressed. AMNLAE is not an autonomous organization. The speaker described how there is a personal viewpoint and an AMNLAE viewpoint which often contradict. She described how at one local meeting, the AMNLAE women seemed to be talking on a different level to the peasant women whose real day-to-day problems weren't taken seriously.

When asked why abortion is still illegal, the AMNLAE representative said, "We don't like to talk about this. It is a divisive element. We think women should try to prevent unwanted pregnancies." When this was challenged with the fact that women as young as 11 are getting pregnant and that many women are dying from back street abortions, the questioner was told she had "a Western view of questioning on women."

Most women still work in the home, as street vendors (self-employed), as domestics or as part-time workers, where the new laws concerning paid pregnancy leave, equal pay and social security benefits do not apply. Domestic workers were not included in a recent redistribution of wages among workers. When trade union delegates were asked about this, they said, "Not yet!"

In the countryside, men don't allow women to work with them on the farming cooperatives. They give women impossible tasks to "prove" that it's not women's work although there are now a minority of co-ops organized by women. The rate of battered women has increased by 11% in the last year.

Despite all this inequality, the Nicaraguan revolution has made some radical steps forward, such as men now having to contribute towards the upkeep of their children and the fact that women are now training for all kinds of professional skills and have set up a new legal office to deal with complaints from women.

However, it's not enough to have great new laws if there are no concrete methods to enforce them. New forms of human relationships will have to involve the thoughts and activities of all, especially women.

—London feminist

## Notes from a journal

### A working woman's life

by Clara Jones

This week I am forced to work Saturday. It means I have only one day for me. I feel work has stolen a large part of my life. I feel sad that I can only read a little at a time. I am discovering that the more I read and write and learn, the larger my need becomes for more knowledge. I wish I had long hours to sit and read. Instead I have long hours to work for the company.

Today I was late for work. I didn't hear the alarm clock. I needed more rest. Six days is too long to work. I feel very unhappy with my life because I haven't been able to do all that I want in fighting for freedom.

My father worked in a plant before me, an auto plant. He retired after more than 30 years of prison. As a little girl I remember asking my mother, "When is dad coming home. He worked long hours, too much overtime. And yet with all this work, job security is something a worker never has. I liked the sign the Black worker carried — Jobs for Now and the Future — picketing an auto plant."

I feel very disappointed with one of my friends and sorry for her at the same time because school is first in her life. She is a nice person, but she must learn that fighting for freedom is more important than education in school. It is the education of freedom.

My sister has an education and she is working in a fast food restaurant. That takes no education. This is because of capitalism. My sister has the education to be a teacher of history. She tried to get a job teaching school, but was unable to find one.

At my plant women work harder than men, and if I take a good look at all of women's history, women have always worked harder than men. And most of the life of women is work. I was reading about the revolutionary life of Emma Goldman and what she wrote on the topic of birth control and abortion. In her day the most widely practiced birth control procedure was abortion. Poor women often attempted to abort themselves in the early 1900s. This may also be true for today. Look at working poor women who do not have the money to pay for an abortion themselves.

I have learned that letters are a good way to talk about ideas and about my life. I am very grateful to have so many good friends to be able to write to.

# Detroit: women workers continue struggle

## U.S. Auto Radiator revolt

Detroit, Mich.—Many people in Plant One at U.S. Auto Radiator took matters into their own hands Friday, Nov. 9. They refused to work while there were dangerous smoke and fumes inside the plant. We had smoke problems throughout the week, but Friday was the worst.

At about 7:30, not long after starting, you started feeling the stinging in your nose and a nasty taste in your mouth. You can't see the fumes. But you can see gray smoke in the air, and it seemed to be going into the VC core assembly area. The automatic face dip had stopped, and the moment it did, smoke started coming out of it. The air compressor was broken, too. Without the air compressor, the smoke can't get out.

Almost all of the people in the department stopped working. They began crowding into the women's bathroom to get away from the smoke. Women were sitting on sinks and in the stalls. One of the production leaders came into the bathroom and said the smoke had cleared and the foreman wanted us back to work. Some people stayed in the bathroom and said to hell with her.

When it started to clear and some people went back to their work stations, the fumes were still stinking. So the people that were not in the bathroom didn't do any work. Instead, they were talking with each other about how they felt. Finally, the company told us to go home.

They let the department that revolted the loudest go. You could really feel the solidarity. Nobody would work. Some people stayed on the job, but even they stood around and talked about what they think about the bosses. The company didn't do anything about the smoke until we revolted!

We still lost out, because we only got paid for four hours on Friday. It was the company's fault that the working conditions were as bad as they were. The workers came to work eight hours on Friday. But the con-

tract only guarantees you four hours' pay when you are sent home for something that went wrong that was the company's fault. The union said it got us that four hours and we shouldn't complain. —Woman worker

UNEMPLOYMENT  
INSURANCE



"Go home, I tell you.  
The recession is over"



## Unemployment office blues

Detroit, Mich.—The first time I experienced unemployment was a few weeks ago after I was unjustly fired from my job in a hospital. When I went and picked up papers at the unemployment office, the lines were so long. I took them home and filled out all those forms, and I was still angry about being fired.

When I went back, the instructor who was telling us how to fill out forms said quite a few people in the office had been laid off. She went so fast. She said she hoped they were done by lunch. Then she said everyone had to stand in line 18. It was a double line, and it was down all the way to the door.

I stood in line about an hour. My legs were aching. I couldn't go out. I was afraid I'd lose my space. When I got to the window, the woman checked everything out and said I had to wait in another line. I waited in that line for 45 minutes more. Then another woman asked a lot of questions — what was my rate of pay, why am I unemployed now?

I said I was terminated, and I told her the language on my termination notice. So then she handed me a booklet with the disqualifications that would deny me money. I thought if I saw that supervisor that fired me, I'd hit her.

There were so many people there, some fired, some laid off. Some of these were hospital employees. Others were Chevrolet employees laid off during the GM strike in Canada. Some people brought their lunch. Others brought stools. It was like a bus terminal.

Some people said it was their eighth time coming down, and they haven't gotten a check yet. You don't know if you'll eat today, tomorrow or the next day. That's why there's so much anxiety. The whole time I was there, I was thinking about what people go through. But I'm going to fight all the way, and maybe I'll stir something up down there.

—Black woman hospital worker

## Picket line at Libby

Chicago, Ill.—Three hundred workers struck the Libby Company on Nov. 11. The company had already cut the workers' wages \$1.65 per hour and eliminated three paid holidays when the union contract expired in early September.

Other concessions demanded by the company include shorter breaks, less paid vacation time, elimination of paid time for changing clothes, and cutbacks in the pension plan and medical insurance. Seniority rights would be severely weakened under the company's proposals.

The workers are members of United Food and Commercial Workers Local 247-P, which has been negotiating with the company since last spring. Libby is owned by Nestle's, and the strikers believe that the parent company in New York is one of the corporate giants determined to cut the standard of living of workers in the food processing industry. One picketer said, "The companies expect us to work for wages like in poor countries. But we can't live on that."

"The big money people are taking over and want us to work for nothing," said a striker. "Reagan is so anti-union it stinks. He's helping the companies, and the companies think they can do whatever they want with the workers."

Strikers say Libby has threatened to close the plant if concessions aren't granted, but the picketers all agree that other workers have lost their jobs even after going along with other companies' demands for cut-backs. "If they're going to close the plant, they will. You don't decide to close a plant in three days." Another striker said, "What we need to do is shut the country down for a week like they did in Poland." —Strike Supporter

# A restaurant story

Chicago, Ill.—I have worked in many restaurants, where I started as a dishwasher and moved up to cook. I have now been working for restaurants for some ten years. I really enjoy cooking, but I find it harder and harder to work for restaurants.

Conditions became really bad at the large hotel chain where I last worked. People had not received raises in three to five years. The restaurant was being sold. Management were getting fired, and employees were forced to take up the slack, which caused a lot of disorganization. This in turn brought on a lot of stress and anxiety among workers, which continued to grow like a cancer.

After the chef was fired, a few workers got together with him and some of the other people who were terminated. It was suggested that union support would probably be their best bet, so that idea was acted upon. One person who helped start this idea became the organizer. Thirty-one union cards were signed in order to go into petition.

As soon as the company was notified that they might recognize this union, the organizer was fired. I then took on part of the job as assistant to the organizer, because I was still employed there, and I felt I should stay there if our fight was to continue. When the company found out that I was in support of the union, they zeroed in on me. The boss had private meetings with me daily and constantly tried to probe my mind. When he realized that I was still talking to people, they cut my hours.

The boss hired a very expensive lawyer whom they paid thousands of dollars to fight the union. He was known as a professional union buster. The kitchen outgoing phone lines were disconnected. The boss started rumors against employees between other employees. All of the company heads became Mr. Nice Guys overnight and promised the world. The election was postponed, because the government ran out of money at the time. Snitches were given employee-of-the-month raises and promotions.

We continued to fight, although we were losing more of our supporters. The company won because of more sneaky tactics. We only ended up with a vote of five people on our side. I don't feel like we lost, though, just because we lost the vote. We didn't get into this to win or lose a union election, but to do what we thought was right. I'd do it again.

—Kitchen worker

## Chicago teachers strike

Chicago, Ill.—The Chicago teachers' strike on Dec. 3 was inevitable. In spite of bargaining sessions that began last May and continue under mediation, the Board of Education has refused to change its position that employees must pay part of their medical benefits and have their salaries cut.

The union has made recommendations where cuts can be made and where money can be saved without cutting back teachers' benefits and salaries. But this Board, under the direction of the School Finance Authority, has joined the ranks of union busters all across the nation.

The public must be made aware of what is really going on between the Chicago Board and the new power to make policy, the School Finance Authority. The Finance Authority was created out of the '79 crisis which left the school system bank usin and banking institutions, which lent \$600 million to the schools at an astronomical interest rate.

To help finance these interest payments and the inflated salaries for top administrators at the Board, union-busting law firms were brought in to think of new ways to cut the budget from the employees' pockets. The immediate result of this fiasco was the loss of 8,000 jobs.

It's a miracle teachers have any time or motivation for teaching at all. At the same time that salaries and benefits are cut, classrooms are overcrowded. Books and supplies are scarce. Teachers are forced to use restrictive reading and learning programs imposed on them by the Board.

We are told by corporate and government leaders to prepare our young for those jobs where thinking is of no value. They feel only the "elite" should concern itself with thought so that it may lead us in the direction the ruling class feels is in its own best interest. The rest of us should be content with learning the skills necessary to respond to the needs of automation and computers.

The public must get behind the teachers and support their cause. Together they can rid the system of the Finance Authority, and rid the system of wasteful policies that pay consultants for improvements they don't intend to implement and learning systems which stifle creativity and real learning, as well as law firms for advice on how to make cuts from schools and teachers where the money is truly needed. Otherwise we will find that not only have we mortgaged away the financial resources for education, but in the process we have mortgaged away the minds of our youth and the youth of generations to come.

—Chicago teacher

## WORKSHOP TALKS

(continued from page 1)

stores have been on strike for weeks in Los Angeles, and the union says it is willing to accept a two-tier system. Younger workers have been crossing the picket lines in droves, and the strike is now in jeopardy. Many of these younger workers see the union as just some bureaucracy they pay dues to, just like the government. They don't feel part of the union, and the union has never talked to them about what a strike really means.

At one time, all new-hires in a plant got their job instruction from a union committeeman. After World War II that job was taken over by the foreman. Nowadays the foreman will put the new worker on the worst job, while before the committeeman would show the new-hire how to get away with doing as little work as possible. That way solidarity got built up from the first day.

### REVOLT MUST BE TOTAL

The only way workers can put a stop to these concessions that divide them is to take control of production, this time for good. In the 1936-37 sit-down strikes in auto that is exactly what workers did. But as soon as we got our first contract, we began to lose control of production to management and the union leadership. Ever since then every contract has contained one sell-out after another.

The young workers are the ones to watch, because with Reaganism they can't live off their wages. The economic situation gets worse and worse with each of these cuts and concessions, and if Reagan keeps it up, he will have a revolt on his hands. This time the revolt will have to be total. Workers will have to take control of production for good. Only then can we beat back the divisions, introduced by such gimmicks as the two-tier wage system. The real struggle is still ahead.

## News & Letters

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## Nicaraguans united against U.S. threat

by Mary Holmes

The U.S. election returns were just coming in when Reagan aides "leaked" the rumor that a Russian ship on its way to Nicaragua was thought to be carrying MIG fighters. Three days later, the carefully crafted "rumor" was totally discredited. But in the meantime, Reagan had begun setting out his second-term outlaw military plans for Nicaragua.

Reagan officials were quick to draw parallels between the Russian ship non-event and the period preceding the Cuban missile crisis in 1962—omitting the subsequent U.S.-Russia confrontation which brought the world to the nuclear brink. They also publicly raised the possibility of blockading Nicaragua to stop a supposed river of Russian arms—again, omitting the fact that that is an act of war. Reagan's No. 1 rocket-rattler, Secretary of Defense Casper Weinberger, fulminated on the need to prevent Nicaragua from becoming "a second Cuba." Through all this, no serious objection to direct U.S. military strikes against Nicaragua came from the new Congress, from which Reagan intends to extract renewed financial backing for contra mercenaries in 1985.

### CIA COVER-UP

With the election campaign out of the way, Reagan moved to sweep under the rug the contras' CIA manual for subversion against Nicaragua, calling it "much ado about nothing." The CIA "investigated" itself and reported back to the President, not surprisingly, that it found "no violation" of the U.S. law making it criminal to advocate assassination of foreign officials. The latest cover-up of Reagan's outlaw acts hinged on redefining the word "neutralize" to mean anything but assassination.

The week after the elections, Reagan's soft-spoken and forked-tongued Secretary of State George Shultz attended a meeting of the Organization of American States (OAS) in Brazil. He showed contempt for the audience as he called the burgeoning U.S. arms buildup in El Salvador, Honduras and Costa Rica a Latin American "security shield" against Nicaraguan "aggression." Two days later, those three countries, at the U.S.'s behest, introduced new amendments to the Contadora proposals. These changes would allow U.S. military maneuvers to continue and delay the withdrawal of military advisors in Central America. The Reagan administration had refused to consider (and in any case, never intended to accept as binding) the Contadora proposals which Nicaragua was ready to sign in September.

The day before Shultz's OAS appearance, Weinberger had set the stage (on TV's "Meet The Press") by reviving the Monroe Doctrine as the basis "for many decades" of U.S. policy for protecting the hemisphere's integrity. Far from that, Latin Americans know better than anyone that the Monroe Doctrine has always sig-

## Pinochet's Chile: revolt, repression, revolt

(continued from page 1)

**Oct. 30**—The general strike is more successful than anyone imagined. Half the work force spontaneously, collectively, does not go to work. The other half goes but does not work; they sit in or slow down or have mass meetings instead. The bus drivers strike, helping people to stay out. Ninety percent of the students boycott school. There are few teachers there anyway.

The general strike reaches everywhere, not just the major cities. The island city of Castro, in the south, is so small that everyone there is related. To have a confrontation is fratricide, and it has not previously joined the days of protest. Today, the entire city goes on strike.

In the shantytowns and in the middle of Santiago, there are demonstrations and battles with the police. The youth persist in confronting the police physically. They use stones, since they have no guns and even slingshots are illegal.

**Oct. 31 and Nov. 1**—The demonstrations continue. In spite of a curfew. In spite of continuous police invasions of poor neighborhoods, where they ransack houses, arrest and shoot people. The government announces ten dead in the protests, but there are undoubtedly more among the disappeared.

A child is killed in a demonstration in Arica in the north. During the funeral procession, the people attack a police car. When the police send reinforcements, the people go and attack the police station.

The family of two of the arrested go for help to the Catholic Church's human rights group, the Vicariate of Solidarity, where the women are well-known for their community work. They get a lawyer who brings a writ of habeas corpus. Telegrams of inquiry have arrived to Pinochet from people in the U.S.

Miraculously, the three arrested in Renca are produced in court. They have been horribly tortured, physically and psychologically, but they are alive and leave the torture center after three days. Most people stay longer, and many die there. The three are taken to jails, still not charged with any crime. People from the neighborhood bring their family scraps of wool and books to

naled the go-ahead for U.S. imperialist intrusions into their lands. Reagan's legal prizefighters are now busily invoking "collective self-defense" under the Rio Treaty to counter Nicaragua's claims against U.S. intervention in mining their harbors. A scant two years ago, Reagan effectively violated that treaty when he backed Thatcher's war in the Malvinas. Whether or not Reagan intends overt U.S. military actions against Nicaragua anytime soon, all this prepares "justification" for such outlaw moves.

### U.S. MILITARY BUILDUP

While Reagan was launching his post-election "policy" crusaders against Nicaragua, the U.S. Navy was staging "Comptuex 1-85," a combined military exercise in the Caribbean and West Atlantic involving the U.S. Second Fleet with carrier-based fighters and bombers, along with units of the 82nd and 101st airborne divisions. Last month 100 military personnel arrived in Honduras with the specific mission of reinforcing newly-built airstrips. U.S. spy planes have deliberately broken the sound barrier in flights over Nicaragua to make their presence known.



Nicaraguans line up to vote in Managua

On its part, Nicaragua was smart enough to hold its elections before those in the U.S. Despite Reagan's efforts to sabotage and discredit them, the elections have given a lift to Nicaragua's international support. About 80% turned out to vote. The Sandinistas won close to 65%. The core of their vote came from the youth. It is the Nicaraguan youth who have been among the most passionate in embracing the revolution that got rid of the hated U.S.-backed Somoza, and they in no way intend to go back to such a past of U.S. domination.

This, too, cannot be discounted even as Ronald Reagan, world outlaw, publicly contemplates direct military actions against Nicaragua, not excluding invasion. Such an invasion, however, will not be another Grenada.

give them.

**Nov. 6**—Pinochet imposes a new state of siege, the most severe of his 11 years in power. Can it be an accident that this happens the day Reagan is re-elected? Hundreds more people are arrested in the next few days, including union leaders and all the opposition groups' leaders, except the moderate Democratic Alliance. Some 600 people are sent to internal exile in the remote city of Pisagua.

Censorship becomes total. The radio plays music instead of news. People are shot for being out after curfew and shot before curfew for being out at all.

Now there is no requirement that anyone ever be charged with a crime to be held in prison or exile.

People in Renca draw up a statement demanding the release of those arrested. They sign it with an "R", the symbol of resistance, and deliver it to the police station.

**Nov. 10**—The armed forces attack the squatter shantytown called Silva Henriquez in southern Santiago and arrest every male over the age of 15, about 3000 people. Apparently, having already arrested all the known political opposition he can find, Pinochet plans to arrest the entire nation. After all, it is the masses who are revolting against him.

Silva Henriquez was created over a year ago, when homeless people organized a "toma" of public land and put up their own tent-and-shack city. They said then that they were organized so that they could never be ousted by the police; it would take the military. Pinochet sends the air force in helicopters. Days later, hundreds are still detained.

The three from Renca have still received no medical attention for the severe injuries caused by their torture. The lawyer says that the international telegrams saved their lives, but the pressure must continue.

**Nov. 15**—Army and air force troopers arrive in tanks and sweep La Victoria, another working-class area of Santiago. Thousands more are arrested. They are now held in soccer stadiums, just as they were during the 1973 coup when thousands were killed.

Meanwhile, several days of national protest and another general strike have been called for the end of the month.

## Reagan's policies opposed

Washington, D.C.—Less than 48 hours after Ronald Reagan's "historic landslide," over 300 people marched and rallied in Washington, D.C., to mourn the dead in Central America and the Caribbean and to put the administration on notice that millions of Americans will not accept more U.S. intervention in the region.

The march was led by women dressed in black, with their faces painted white, carrying staves which they struck rhythmically on the ground. One of them explained that in medieval Europe, women would march from town to town in times of plague to warn others of approaching danger. Now, she said, it's Nicaragua and El Salvador that are threatened. The women were followed by activists from local peace and anti-intervention groups, bearing signs and symbolic coffins to represent the victims of war and repression.

Despite Reagan's claims that the country is solidly behind his aggressive policies, passers-by were definitely on our side. Drivers honked, flashed their lights and waved; pedestrians were equally friendly. One Latino restaurant worker, still in kitchen uniform and snatching a quick break from work, gave marchers a wave and a smile and quietly but firmly said, "Viva Sandino!"

At the rally, the mood changed from mourning to determination. The rally's purpose was not to bury fallen comrades, but to bury U.S. intervention. Speakers linked the continuing crisis in Central America with last year's invasion of Grenada and the ongoing attack on Blacks, women, Hispanics and other victims of Reaganomics and Reaganpolitics.

Loud and angry cheers greeted the assertion that Nicaragua would not be an easy victim for a new round of U.S. aggression, since both Nicaraguans and North Americans were prepared to resist. As one demonstrator summed it up, "We needed this. After Reagan won in 1980, too many of us fell into a state of numb despair. It is different this time. We are getting ready to fight back."

—Ian Seale

## Protest Grenada invasion

Salt Lake City, Ut.—The local Central America Solidarity Coalition showed a film, "Grenada: The Future Coming Towards Us," to protest Reagan's armed invasion of the island one year ago. The film, which was released on the very day of the invasion, showed us a radiant revolutionary people whose enthusiasm is apparently boundless. But I could also see something of the duality in the revolution that would provide the pretext for the invasion.

Bernard Coard is in the film. He credits the "government" with introducing and "mass producing" new products. He sounded like a corporate executive determined to make his company (read government) successful. Following the film a speaker exposed the lies about protecting medical students, and there was a discussion.

The audience raised the issue of the coup which killed Bishop and opened the way for the U.S. invasion. Some tried to blame it on the CIA, while others emphasized the disarming of the militia by the Coard-Austin clique.

Only Marxist-Humanists asked that all probe into the lack of philosophic principles that allowed the "leadership" to conceal their internal dispute—which led to Maurice Bishop's murder—from the Grenadian people for over a year. The tragic separation of philosophy and organization is what "disarmed" the people and left Grenada open to U.S. imperialism's invasion.

In this sense the events in Grenada continue to challenge us as activists to gain a mind of our own, not only against Reaganism, but against every obstacle to freedom.

—Ted Hill

## In Brief...

**Philippines**—The latest Marcos outrages included the assassination of two prominent regime opponents, journalist Alexander Orcullo and Mayor Cesar Climaco of Zamboaga, a large city in Mindanao. These events have only spurred on the mass opposition to Marcos.

**New Caledonia**—French settler-backed parties succeeded in winning recent elections and postponing independence at least until 1989. The indigenous Kanak people comprise 45% of the population. Inspired by a similar movement in the 1970s in the New Hebrides islands, they have formed a militant Kanak Socialist Liberation Front (FLNKS), and are moving on their own toward independence. They organized a near-total boycott of the election and blocked roads and occupied government installations. This struggle has a long tradition, and as early as the 1870s French communist leader Louise Michel had backed the indigenous people's revolt when even fellow political exiles had opposed their movement. We doubt that Mitterrand will follow suit.

**Spain**—Thousands of shipyard workers struck and fought police to protest government plans for mass layoffs of 17,000 of the 42,000-member shipyard work force over the next two years. The social democratic Gonzalez government has so far refused to enact even welfare state measures to alleviate the situation.

# THEORY / PRACTICE

by Raya Dunayevskaya



This month I am turning over "Theory/Practice" to my colleague Kevin Anderson. — Raya Dunayevskaya

Professor Norman Levine's work, *Dialogue within the Dialectic*,\* is an attempt critically to examine Marx, Hegel, Lenin and Mao. Levine is the type of thinker-activist who tries not to separate a deep interest in revolutionary dialectics from political activity. Thus for the Marx Centennial he organized an interesting conference held in April, 1983 at the University of Maryland, Baltimore County.

Professor Levine's book raises important questions for the 1980s: What is the relationship of Hegelian subjectivity to Marxist dialectics? What separated Marx's concept of dialectic from that of Engels? What were the contributions of Lenin and Mao to revolutionary dialectics? The book also contains quotes from and discussion of material never before in English from Marx's *Capital*, Vols. II and III. Unfortunately, Professor Levine's analysis does not, in the opinion of this writer, measure up to the seriousness of the questions he has raised.

## ENGELS vs. MARX ON CAPITAL AND DIALECTICS

Levine's most serious contribution is his presentation of textual variants from *Capital*, volumes II and III,<sup>1</sup> based on Marx's original manuscripts. Unfortunately Levine does not leave it there, but precedes this very useful and concrete discussion with his own quite problematic overview. He tells us that Engels' main error was not in changing or deleting the Marx texts, but rather in general in giving us too much "bulk," by combining various manuscripts into lengthy chapters. In the process, Levine himself is all too ready to "edit" Marx, in place of letting Marx speak for himself.

Levine writes: "Engels exploded a two-volume Marxian *Das Kapital* (Marx's original estimate of the book's length - ~~Karl~~ into a three-volume Engelsian *Das Kapital*..." (201) Levine is, of course, correct when he calls for publication of the whole, but his central argument seems to point toward an even more revised text than the Engelsian one, such as the one presented by Rubel in his greatly truncated French edition of volumes II and III. Levine's endless footnotes here and elsewhere betray an attitude of references for references' sake, instead of distinguishing his own view (if he truly has an independent view), and making himself neutral. Why for example is there no serious reference to Dunayevskaya, who was the first to translate Lenin's *Philosophic Notebooks* into English in 1948 and who had ever since the 1950s written on the relationship of Marx as well as Lenin to Hegel?

Levine's discussion of Engels versus Marx on dialectics traverses the familiar ground of Engels' evolutionism and scientism, and his view of dialectics as merely fluidity. Yet Levine is surely "original" in being so anxious to disconnect Marx from Engels (and to connect Marx to Mao) that he implies that Engels invented the idea of Hegel's "negation of the negation" as a central part of the Marxian dialectic. After mentioning that Engels used "negation of the negation," Levine writes a few lines later that "Marx took totally different Hegelian categories" (168), among which he lists "form-content," "negation" and "contradiction." On the very next page, Levine quotes the famous passage from the climax to *Capital*, volume I, where Marx writes:

"The capitalist mode of appropriation, the result of the capitalist mode of production, produces capitalist private property. This is the just negation of individual private property, as founded on the labor of the proprietor. But capitalist production begets, with the inexorability of a law of nature, its own negation." (169) Not only has Levine, in a type of typographical error found on virtually every page, substituted the word "just" for Marx's word, "first," but he also stops the passage at this point. Marx continues: "this is the negation of the negation."

This double error, one typographical and the other deliberate, cuts out Marx on the negation of the negation. This was the very passage where many anti-Hegelian radicals—from Duhring to Althusser to Rubel—have attacked Marx. And it was a passage where, in *Anti-Duhring*, Engels quoted it in full and then devoted a 14-page chapter to a defense of Marx's use of Hegel's concept of negation of the negation. While Engels' discussion was,

## Norman Levine's study of dialectics: a critique

to be sure, overly mechanistic, Engels did not — like the Russian Stalinists, or Mao, or Levine — deny the centrality of negation of the negation to Marxist dialectics.<sup>2</sup>

In 1984, Levine presents himself as a humanist and a Hegelian Marxist, writing: "...there was no break between Marx and Hegelian humanism, but rather a modulation." (144) But what is this "modulation?" He tells us several times that "Marx borrowed the Hegelian idea of causality" (167), which is certainly true, but he makes three errors. One, he limits Marx to "borrowing" rather than "re-creation" of Hegel's dialectic.<sup>3</sup>

Second, it is no accident that his stress on "causality" very nearly not only substitutes causality for "negation of the negation" as a category, but also ignores the whole movement for freedom in Hegelian dialectics which made as great a Marxist philosopher and practitioner of revolution as Lenin plunge into Hegel's "Doctrine of the Notion," including "Absolute freedom" in his *Philosophical Notebooks*.

There, as he approached Hegel's Absolute Idea at the end of the *Science of Logic*, Lenin quotes Hegel: "Accordingly in this result cognition is restored and united with the practical Idea; the actuality found as given is at the same time determined as the realized absolute end; but whereas in questing cognition this actuality appeared merely as an objective world without the subjectivity of the Notion, here it appears as an objective world whose inner ground and actual persistence is the Notion. This is the Absolute Idea."<sup>4</sup> At that point, in addition to taking down the above, Lenin wrote in his own summary: "The result of activity is the test of subjective cognition and the criterion of OBJECTIVITY WHICH TRULY IS."<sup>5</sup>

Third, Levine gives us a limited, nearly Kantian, view of even what he does stress, causality. Levine discusses causality as presented in Hegel's *Science of Logic* in the book of Essence, where Levine sums up Hegel as follows: "The cause was reflected in the effect, but the effect was also reflected back in the cause, so the cause persisted...Causality, for Hegel, meant the creation of the conditions of possibility." (142) Levine thus describes Hegel's non-deterministic concept of cause and effect at the level of Hegel's Doctrine of Essence.

But Hegel's discussion of causality continues in the final book of the *Science of Logic*, on Notion or Subjective Logic, where Hegel reintroduces the problem of causality at a higher level. Levine ignores this. At this stage, far from "blind" causes and effects, Hegel writes of "the Notion that as such already has a concrete existence as cause, as the absolute concrete unity that is free in the face of objectivity and its external determinability." (*Science of Logic*, 748) Here Hegel brings freedom and self-conscious human subjectivity into his notion of causality, where earlier he had stressed the open-endedness between cause and effect.

For Levine, the result is a truncated view of Hegelian and Marxian dialectics as a merely open-ended and anti-deterministic view of causality. A bit later (156) Levine attempts a schematization of Marx's dialectic into an "epistemology," a "method of inquiry," and so forth. This soon falls flat, however, when he discusses the first chapter of *Capital*, volume I, on commodities which he claims is merely a baring of "the inner, unseen, the essential relations of capitalism." (165)

He once again leaves it completely at the level of "Essence," and skips entirely over the determinant for the whole — the section on "fetishism of commodities" and Marx's concept there of "freely associated labor" stripping the fetishism off commodities in a new society — which is both the Essence and the Notion for the first chapter of *Capital*, but which involves much more as well. To this day, it has been the central question around which the Hegel-Marx relationship in Marx's *Capital* has been debated by Marxists and non-Marxists alike: from Lukacs in the 1920s, to the "Frankfurt School" in the 1940s; to Sartre in the 1950s, not to mention the three books of Dunayevskaya, beginning in 1958.

While attacking Engels endlessly and repetitiously as

(continued on page 10)

## Oscar Mayer: No pay cut! No harassment!

*Editor's Note: Oscar Mayer unilaterally cut workers' pay from \$10.69 to \$8.25. (See October N&L.) The cutback was taken first to arbitration and then to court. Both times the workers won, but Oscar Mayer has refused to give the workers their money and has continued the appeal process. The workers have refused to be limited to court procedures and have begun their own campaign, both to put pressure on the union to demand the money from Oscar Mayer and to talk to their fellow workers in the Chicago plant and in plants in Madison, Wis., Davenport, Iowa, Los Angeles, Calif. and Texas. (See November N&L.) Below Oscar Mayer workers discuss not only the cutbacks, but Oscar Mayer's continuing harassment and their own organizing to fight back.*

Chicago, Ill.—We are organizing. We had a meeting in Rockford where workers from Oscar Mayer in Madison, Davenport and California as well as Chicago met. We are communicating with each other. This communication started after the company started cutting our pay in April. Workers went up to Madison to talk to workers there. When they got to the Madison local, the union leadership wasn't going to let the Chicago workers in, but the workers inside found out and invited the workers in. A full report of what was happening in Chicago was given, and Chicago workers found out what was happening in Madison. That was how it started.

Now there are chain letters coming from Nashville to Texas to California to Chicago and to Davenport. The chain has grown so much that workers from the different plants call each other if anything happens. We forced our local to have a Sunday meeting where we were able to take the floor.

### WHAT HAPPENED TO SENIORITY?

Oscar Mayer has been taking workers with lots of seniority and transferring them from department to department and from shift to shift. We don't have plant-wide seniority, but only "job rights," which means that you might be in a classification with only four other people. Even if you have 20 years in the plant, a person with two weeks can have more job seniority, and Oscar Mayer has been reclassifying jobs, changing the lines, changing everyone's job titles.

One woman now works third shift cleanup and has 11 years in the plant, while another woman, who has only four weeks, has a better position. And the harassment is directed at specific workers, for instance, at workers with as much as 30 to 35 years seniority. They are trying to get them to retire. One worker with 32 years' seniority has just been accused of taking a package of meat and disciplined. The company put him out of the plant and even has a notice with his picture to not let him back in. There should be some sort of guidelines to get rid of this harassment. The union leaders are so weak, they do nothing.

One worker who had 35 years seniority ended up having the rate changed on him. They told him that he was not keeping up with the new rate and gave him a warning. It's the first warning slip he has had since he's been there.

The other kind of harassment comes to those who the company thinks are leaders in protesting the pay cutback. They have transferred one woman to third shift from second shift. And they transferred another woman to first shift. They are doing this to workers just for talking. They are so afraid of what workers are saying. You are supposed to be able to maintain your shift rights. It's in the contract. They end up telling you of the shift change late in the working day, when it is too late for you to be able to straighten out the contract violation. You have to just show up and file a grievance.

### LIFTING 100-POUND SACKS OF MEAT

The woman who is the personnel interviewer is the one who has been in charge of a lot of this harassment. She shifts workers around. She always keeps a job open on the docks — one where you have to lift 100-pound sacks of raw meat from time to time—a job that takes two men to do. But she will end up assigning someone she is trying to harass to that job working alone! She tried to get an older woman over 60 to take a dock job.

And it seems that Black women workers in particular are often subjected to harassment. She has some lousy jobs for them. Sometimes it seems like she changes the rules in the plant at whim.

But Oscar Mayer is changing things more than at whim. They are bringing in new machines. There were four lines doing slicing with three workers on each line. Now there are going to be only two lines using new machines, with two lines being eliminated. And it is not only two lines instead of four, but each line will have only one slicer and one pick-up person. So eight people will be eliminated. Early next year two more conventional lines will be eliminated, and close to a dozen more people will be gone.

This is why communication between workers at different plants and between workers in the Chicago plant is so important. It can make the difference in how we fight Oscar Mayer.

—Oscar Mayer workers

\**Dialogue within the Dialectic*, Boston: Allen and Unwin, 1984, 416 pp., \$37.50 hardcover

1. For a critique of Engels' editing of Volume I, see my "The 'Unknown' Marx's *Capital*, Vol. I: The French Edition of 1872-75, 100 Years Later," *Review of Radical Political Economics*, Vol. 15:4, 1983.

2. See Raya Dunayevskaya, *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*, NJ: Humanities, 1982, for a fully dialectical presentation of the contrast between Marx and Engels.

3. On this point, see Dunayevskaya, *Philosophy and Revolution* N.J.: Humanities, 1982, orig. 1973, pp. 90-94.

4. Hegel's *Science of Logic*, trans. by A.V. Miller, N.J.: Humanities Press, 1969, p. 823.

5. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 38, p. 219. See also the first English translation by Raya Dunayevskaya in *Marxism and Freedom*, N.Y.: Twayne, 1958, pp. 326-355, not included in later editions.

## AFTER THE ELECTION: OPPOSITION TO REAGANISM

Your Editorial "Anti-war youth vs. Reaganism," written before the election, is even more powerful after. I wish its title could have been expanded to include "What is freedom of the press?," because what you show is that there is a genuine, continuing opposition to Reaganism, including a significant segment of the youth, and yet our so-called free press says almost nothing about it. A "free press" is in danger of losing its reason for being when it accepts the ideas of those in power so easily. To me the concept of a free press only means something if it is tied to writing about the ideas and actions of freedom. And those do abound in the age of Reaganism even if our free press chooses not to find them.

Observer  
Chicago

\* \* \*

We are hearing a lot now about how the young people on the campuses are conservative and voted for Reagan. But I had a magnificent conversation with a 13-year-old schoolgirl who was telling me how bored she is with the whole system of learning, that it has no relation to today's world. When I started talking to her about dialectics and revolution, she was hanging on to every word I said. We were standing talking in the classroom after school, and she said to me, "Are you a teacher?" "No, I'm the janitor," I said. I hate to think of what this system will do to all her curiosity and creativity.

Marxist-Humanist janitor  
California

\* \* \*

After the election, I don't want to hear another word from the politicians who think they are "feminist leaders" about the "gender gap." There wasn't even a gender crack, as far as I can see. There are a lot of women out there who are not my sisters—not if they voted for Reagan. First NOW put all its efforts into ERA, and that was defeated. Then they put all their work into the Democratic Party. When are they going to remember that women's liberation is about a much larger vision of changing this whole society and all its relationships? That is what gave our movement energy in the first place.

Women's liberationist  
Chicago

\* \* \*

Reagan may have won "four more years," but he will have no easy time in trying to fulfill his war plans against the peoples of Central America. Four days after the election, 1,000 people came out to demonstrate in Los Angeles against Reagan's latest threats to Nicaragua. This demonstration was called on one day's notice, with no leaflets or posters, but word spreading rapidly through CISPES chapters, schools and churches.

The passion and anger of people were clear, and there were new young activists who barely remembered the Vietnam War holding signs saying "No More Vietnams." Not all of America's youth has been won over by Reagan's "Father Knows Best" smile.

Revolutionary  
Los Angeles

\* \* \*

In Detroit Reagan did not get the Black vote. Mondale got 78% of the Detroit vote. Detroit is a city that is mostly unemployed, and those that are working are not so happy with Reagan either. After the election I took a good look at N&L from 1980. It says a lot about today. Reagan and Carter were together in their drive to war. Carter decided to go ahead with the \$60 billion MX missile. Carter brought back draft registration. You can really see how we got in this fix.

In the Dec. 1980 N&L there is a story on the "attack on Black America" after the Reagan election. This is what is happening now again. Reagan is rolling back the clock for youth. He has claimed that the minimum wage causes unemployment, and he is out to make Black and Latino youth work for less

than the minimum. I think the fundamental reason this is happening is that we live in a racist society. I am reading the works of Sarah Moore Grimke because she fought both racism and sexism...

Woman autoworker  
Detroit

\* \* \*

Students may seem "asleep" today, but what alternative do they have under Reagan? In this capitalist system you've got to study so you can go out and make that money; either that or you've got to have a revolution to overthrow capitalism. That's what I'd like to see—a revolution. I can't see dedicating your whole life to making money.

Black student  
Univ. of Illinois-Chicago

\* \* \*

The election showed that Black is the revolutionary color, when 91% of all Black voters voted against Reagan. A Black delivery man where I work said to me after the election, "You and I are in for trouble." He proceeded to tell me about the incident in Cicero, Ill., where they stoned the house of a newly-moved-in Black family and forced them out. He talked also about the murder of Eleanor Bumpurs by NYC cops. The fact that he spoke of these events in the context of Reagan's re-election speaks volumes.

White working woman  
Queens, N.Y.

\* \* \*

In the two weeks after Reagan's re-election, New York has seen thousands of people come out to protest war, racism and Reaganism. Several hundred people turned up on short notice at two protests against the threatened invasion of Nicaragua. On Nov. 17 in the Bronx, a demonstration protested the murder of Eleanor Bumpurs, a 67-year-old Black woman, by police evicting her from her apartment. On Nov. 18 some 600 women marched through mid-Manhattan to declare that nuclear weapons, militarism, racism and corporate exploitation of women is "Not in Our Name." The next day, many of the feminists participated in civil disobedience at the Stock Exchange. We are sure that New Yorkers are not going to take Reaganism quietly.

Marxist-Humanist  
New York

### PHILIPPINES: "SEASON OF THUNDER"



After reading the article on the Philippines in N&L, I went to a film, "Season of Thunder," on tribal resistance to the Marcos dictatorship. The film focused on the Igorot peoples of Northern Luzon who succeeded in halting a massive Marcos development project. The plan envisioned several huge hydroelectric complexes which would provide cheap power to Manila with its "free enterprise zones," while flooding the national minorities off their ancestral lands. In these zones, workers, especially young women, are exploited without even the "right" to strike, which, however, hasn't deterred them from striking anyway. Barry's article shows that, but the film doesn't.

In fact, it was this new and profound activity of Filipina women which the film glaringly glossed over. It focused on Filipinas around American military bases as victims, mainly prostitutes. I felt compelled to introduce another con-

# Readers' Views

cept of woman, one which demands urgent thinking about, and practicing, new human relations before, during and after the revolution.

Activist  
New York

\* \* \*

Thanks to Kevin A. Barry for his article on the Philippines (Nov. N&L). Nowhere else outside of Latin America is a part of the world so much under the patronage of U.S. imperialism. They say "we freed you" to the Filipino people, and all the while the repression continues. Barry's report of the speaker from the floor (at the Marx centenary conference in the Philippines) who challenged the narrowness of what passes for Marxism was exciting. Can we know more about this incident?

While Barry didn't take up the indigenous Filipino movements, I thought he was very sharp in his critique of Maoism. The massive urban labor revolts show that we are not talking just about guerrilla war, but about a genuine social revolution.

Graduate student  
CUNY, New York City

### CHARLES DENBY, WORKER-EDITOR

Although it was at first sad to see Charles Denby's picture (Nov. N&L), it was a fantastic feeling to have his words come alive again in the paper. Denby as Marxist-Humanist speaks to us in this way, not for reminiscence's sake, but to change the world today.

I think what Denby said about Steven Biko's murder speaks to John Alan's column on the FSM and Black Civil Rights Movement and to Ida Fuller's on Azanian students' and workers' struggles. This is a very concrete way not only to hold onto the struggles and thoughts of Denby, but if we are conscious of it and open-minded, it will help give us direction every day.

Angela Terrano  
New York

### LABOR: GAINING A MIND OF ITS OWN

I'm not a coal miner or an auto worker, but when I heard Andy Phillips give a talk on the history of the coal miners, it brought out a part of my own history. Hearing their activity in the 1949-50 General Strike reminded me of preparations for the Russian Revolution in my youth. In 1916 in Odessa, we had to put up leaflets at night, and anybody who got caught risked being hanged. I am happy to contribute financially toward the costs of printing your new pamphlet on *The Coal Miners General Strike of 1949-50 and the Birth of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S.*

Long-time socialist  
Detroit

\* \* \*

I distributed N&L at the unemployment office, meeting unemployed Kenecott workers. One told me straight off: "I lost my job because of Ronald Reagan. He just sat on the copper import restriction legislation. Now it's rough as I found I could earn after taxes \$185, but that's one dollar less than unemployment's \$186. My wife and I, figured together, had \$135 left at the end of the month after paying the basic expenses for the house, etc. So we applied to welfare for assistance to make sure our kids had food, clothes. But they told us we made too much."

There are a lot of these guys at the unemployment office. The sense I got when talking to them was "Eighteen years on the line and it's graveyard shift or nothing" and "I hate to work under the table but I can't make it otherwise."

N&L paper dealer  
Salt Lake City

### 'AFRO-ASIAN REVOLUTIONS'

I am reading the new edition of the *Afro-Asian Revolutions* pamphlet with a friend from North Africa. She found it "really beautiful." We paused for a discussion on the question of Lenin's break in his way of thinking when we read in the new introduction: "The Communist world, parading its state-capitalism as 'Marxist-Leninism,' still serves as a pole of attraction for some revolutionaries in the Third World."

Her friends in North Africa call themselves Marxist-Leninists. Many are young students who have been expelled from college for their political beliefs and who are unable to get exit visas because they refuse to do military service. Recently there has been a split in the group. One side takes Lenin as their excuse for bureaucratizing the organization; the other wants to work more closely with the peasants...

Subscriber  
London, England

\* \* \*

A few words on a pamphlet I've read recently—the new edition of *Afro-Asian Revolutions*. Twenty-five years since the first edition have not blurred the vision or scope of its analysis. The projection of masses in motion against oppression and bureaucrats (whether good or bad-intentioned), as opposites, is as clear as day. It struck me that even Trotsky, a great revolutionary, couldn't understand masses in motion with his bastardization of Marx's "revolution in permanence" into the theory of permanent revolution. Trotsky's *Permanent Revolution*, which I read two years ago, attempts to defend his theory against Stalin's accusations of "underestimation of the peasantry. I wholeheartedly agree that he did underestimate them, but I'm not agreeing with Stalin. He slaughtered them. To him they were just "combatants."

Activist  
Covington, Kentucky

I was talking to a Chrysler Jefferson worker who described how a walkout began at the plant. A worker who had diarrhea asked the foreman for permission to go to a doctor, and was refused. The argument turned into a shoving match and the worker was fired, but nothing happened to the foreman. The whole department walked out and the whole plant was shut down. Chrysler seems to have made its recovery on the backs and illness of its workers. How far removed are we from the rosy dawn of capitalist accumulation?

Ex-auto worker  
Detroit

\* \* \*

I went to see two films, "Poletown Lives" and "The Business of America" at a labor history conference. Workers and unemployed belonged there so they could study the films. The movie on Poletown is like what the American Indians went through when the white man stole their land. The Cadillac workers who work at the Clark St. plant and who are supposed to move to the Poletown plant have no job security. They took concessions and still some are out of work. It is a lie that the Poletown plant will employ the number of people they claimed it would. They used that to force people to move so they could build the plant. The second film showed negotiations to try to save another plant and made the workers out to be only concerned with money. But all they have to do is show the kind of machines that are in the plant and you know that there is an untold story about health and safety.

UAW worker  
Detroit

MARXIST-HUMANISM IN DEBATE AND DISCUSSION

I heard Eric Hobsbawm speak on "Socialism and Democracy in the Contemporary World: the European Scene." About 350 filled the auditorium at CUNY Grad Center. I won't summarize the lecture, but it will give you an indication of its direction when you know he proclaimed that Jaruzelski was the best the Polish workers could hope for under the "circumstances," and that many New Yorkers may not know it, but they would rather live in Leningrad.

This wasn't nearly so shocking as the fact that not a murmur of protest was to be heard in this room full of professors and grad students. The chairman called it a "courageous lecture." I was able to take the floor, saying that Marx's Humanism meant a specific kind of democracy that develops in revolution. Today that includes women's liberation and the new passions and new forces of the Third World (which he never mentioned). It demands a new relationship of theory to practice, as was seen in Poland with Solidarnosc.

Which state-capitalist monstrosity you prefer to live in (when they're on the verge of mutual annihilation) has nothing to do with either socialism or democracy.

Marxist-Humanist New York

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Our classes here on "Marxist-Humanist Perspectives and the Dialectics of Revolution" sent us back to our 1969 Perspectives thesis, which pointed to the youth not fooled by science in their opposition to the government. This is when science and government were making a media event of the first man walking on the moon. The thesis singled out the youth opposing then-governor Reagan "who ordered the helicopters to gas the youth at Berkeley who fought for so simple a matter as a People's Park."

One of those youth, Mike Meo, was left off the body of a demonstrator killed in a police assault on People's Park. He was a student of science and turned, along with Charles Aronson, to translate some of Marx's unknown-Mathematical Manuscripts which the

Russians sat on for over three decades. Meo felt the translation would reveal something new about Marx because the manuscripts are such a stark contrast to the Russian's vulgar materialist view of science. He was really glad to hear about all the new discussion we've started on these manuscripts which so far have been mostly ignored.

Ron Brokmeyer Oakland, Calif.

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Even though I can't be present in person for the classes on "Marxist-Humanist Perspectives and the Dialectics of Revolution," I am trying to do the suggested readings. In reading the 1956 Perspectives thesis, I really noticed the elucidation of Marx's concept of labor. With my "fuzzy left" background, I was well aware of the concept of labor as human activity, not just dead economic category. But I stopped there. What I saw this time around was that labor is not just "human activity" in general, in the abstract, but a specific kind of human activity. I had been missing the concreteness of dialectics while looking one-sidedly at movement and relationships...

Former "New Leftist" Washington, D.C.



WOMEN'S LIBERATION AND THE BISHOPS

I appreciated the two recent articles by Terry Moon on women organizing for the "disappeared" and on women against the Catholic bishops. The bishops sure didn't mind speaking out on the abortion issue before the election, though they felt poverty was too sensitive and had to be held back until after Nov. 6. You are right that it is only because of the Women's Liberation Movement that the Church is concerned about "credibility."

But then I wonder how much more is needed from the WLM to confront worsening attacks on women after Reagan's "mandate." Sometimes it feels like the

world is turning into one of those horrible surrealistic music videos kids watch on TV. Violence is normal everywhere. Just today I heard about two more bombs in a Maryland abortion clinic. I welcome your articles as a much needed politicalization. You have to be concrete about the new forms of events so you can figure out how to combat them.

Feminist Detroit

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I wanted to point out to readers that a footnote was left off my column, "Women, Not Bishops, Decide on Abortion," in the last issue. The footnote was to thank the Women's Liberation newspaper, Off Our Backs, October 1984, for their coverage of the international conference, "Population Control: No - Women Decide."

Terry Moon Chicago

FOOD: A POLITICAL WEAPON

Food, indeed, is a political weapon - Thatcher's crocodile tears for the Ethiopians will not cover the fact that she is implicated in the deaths of millions as she has used those deaths to score political points and starve those peoples into submission. So-called aid is a political weapon. Not only is it too little, too late, but it has many strings attached. Millions starve the world over whilst it is profitable to let food rot in the "food mountains" of the European Economic Community. This present world order is not only "degenerate," it has a passion for death and starvation. It must be annihilated.

Activist Great Britain

CHINA'S STATE-CAPITALISM

At least there's a little tragicomic relief in the news, in the form of a new plan for the Chinese economy. From boiler suits to business suits in just ten years. You look at the development of state-capitalism in China since 1949, and you really understand what Marx meant by "the first time as tragedy, the second as farce"! The logic was there from the beginning: you start with the capitalist factory, and sooner or later

you end up with the limousines and the guys in top hats.

Observer Virginia

A PHILOSOPHY OF STRUGGLE

N&L, I have found, is a unique publication that brings together the voices of workers and intellectuals in a common plea, in a united struggle for peace, freedom and human justice as Marx envisioned it. I'm proud to be even a small part of this organization, and I thank you for the work you have done so far. N&L understands the Marxist-Humanist philosophy of joint struggle among workers, intellectuals and farmers for a truly free, socialist society. It calls out for input from all these forces and does not just posit a naive and essentially authoritarian philosophy of vanguardism. For this I am grateful.

Subscriber Jersey City, New Jersey

SOUTH AFRICA: AN APPEAL

Earlier this year South Africa's first "coloured" television announcer was taken to the Klerksdorp hospital after being seriously injured in a car crash. Apparently because of his prominence, he was taken first to the hospital's white section. However, he was then carried to the section reserved for Indians, and finally to the "coloured" area, as hospital officials haggled over his racial classification. While they were ragging the patient dead. By South African law, even blood for transfusions must be labeled by race. The infant mortality rate in some areas is as high as 30%. African miners who are dismissed and sent "home" to the bantustans. The International Defense and Aid Fund for Southern Africa, in addition to providing legal defense for political prisoners, helps their dependents with money for food, shelter and medicine. We desperately need your help!

International Defense and Aid Fund for Southern Africa PO Box 17 Cambridge, MA 02238

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS FROM NEWS & LETTERS

- American Civilization on Trial, Black Masses as Vanguard
Woman as Reason and as Force of Revolution
The First General Strike in the U.S.
Dialectics of Liberation
The Coal Miners' General Strike of 1949-50 and the Birth of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S.
Marx and the Third World: New Perspectives on Writings from His Last Decade
Counter-revolution and Revolution in Iran: a series of political-philosophic letters
25 Years of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S.
A Guide to the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection: Marxist-Humanism - 1941 to Today; Its Origin and Development in the U.S.
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# EDITORIAL African famine: capitalism's man-made disaster

Now that one hundred and fifty million African people are threatened with starvation, now that five million African children face death, now that five million more face permanent damage to their health, only now has the West suddenly "discovered" Africa once again and begun "pouring" relief aid into some of the 24 countries that have massive food shortages.

The crocodile tears of "democracies' leaders" proclaim their sorrow as our TV sets reveal the horror of famine. But it is precisely these leaders today and capitalism's leaders in the days of African colonialism that have perpetuated famine upon famine, that of 1984 being potentially the most horrendous.

## AFRICA, SERVANT OF THE WEST?

Today's famine is no more a "natural" disaster than was the Irish potato famine more than a century ago which, as Marx so powerfully demonstrated, was not only due to potato blight, but was a deliberate policy to rid the land of Irish peasantry.

Today's man-made disaster in Africa has resulted from the deliberate policy of capitalism to reduce Africa to servants of the West, servants who supply one or another commodity — here cotton, there cocoa — for the West's consumption. Meanwhile production of cereals and other subsistence food for the African masses, well, that can just stagnate. Sub-Saharan Africa is the only region in the world where food production per capita has declined over the last two decades. It is no accident, it is a result of the economic strait-jacket into which capitalism has forced all underdeveloped countries.

It has been no different when the dominant power has been the state-capitalism of Russia. Ethiopia, the country suffering most from today's famine, has had ten years of a so-called Marxist regime, backed by Russia. Russia has invested literally billions of dollars in Ethiopia, not to develop agriculture or an industrial base, but to supply armaments to prop up the central government as it carries on a war against its own people.

## Protest racial violence

Chicago, Ill. — On Nov. 7 the Spencer Goffer family became the target of a "Reagan victory celebration" — a six hour mob attack in a white Chicago enclave known as "The Island." Two weeks later, two more families were attacked with firebombs. The Sanders family on Chicago's Southwest side was forced to flee their home three weeks after moving into a predominantly-white neighborhood when a firebomb was hurled through their dining room window. At the end of that week, a Chilean family's home, located in "The Island," was fire-bombed.

Thus far, there have been no arrests stemming from any of the FBI or local police investigations of the attacks. In the Goffer case eyewitnesses reported that several cops from the bordering community of Cicero directed the mob attack against the Black family's apartment on Roosevelt Road.

In the absence of police and FBI action in the case, organized protests in the South Austin Black community have emerged. On Nov. 10 Black community groups on 24-hour notice staged a protest march and picket line in front of the boarded-up apartment of the Goffer family on Roosevelt Road.

West Side residents again expressed their opposition at a Black South Austin church on Nov. 24. The following are some of the voices we heard on that day of protest:

"I'm thinking of a young man on the South Side called Ben Wilson. (Wilson, thought to be best high school basketball player in the nation, was gunned down senselessly by another Black youth following a minor altercation Nov. 20—Ed.) We need to give a thought to him today. The situation today is worse than we think. There is no liberty for the poor."

"This is not the kind of incident that people can sit back and do nothing. This reminds me of when white hooded men rose up in the South and when Hitler rose up and became part of the mainstream. To not do anything is like standing still, and will lead us back to the lynch rope and the holocaust."

"I am Chilean. I was imprisoned for a year and a half in my own country because I struggled against a regime that oppresses people of the working class. This is the reason that so many Latin Americans are in this country."

"It is a question of the ideology that the U.S. inculcates in the American people. And it is what the U.S. spreads in other parts of the world where people of color live. There wouldn't be that kind of thing if there wasn't the exploitation of those countries by the U.S. for the valuable resources there."

Black Chicago continues to organize itself, not only against the external racist attacks, but against both the rampant police brutality and the Black-on-Black gang violence that has turned the Black community into an armed garrison state. —LT

Russia's obscene performance in Ethiopia can only be matched by the vulgarity of the West's leader, Ronald Reagan. Indications of mass starvation in Ethiopia, which have been known for years, brought no action on the part of the Reagan Administration which had already preached "food as a weapon." The potential overthrow of the Ethiopian government took precedence over sending food aid, until recently. Witness how Reagan was all too willing to hold \$60 million in food aid hostage for two months, trying to get Congress to pass military aid to continue the U.S. war on Central America's peoples.

## CYCLE OF WAR AND FAMINE

As if these policies, West and East, were not enough, when the superpowers and smaller powers do pay any attention to Africa, other than the potential for gobbling up commodities and more commodities, it is as one more battleground for war. Can it be any accident that the three countries which are the most famine devastated — Ethiopia, Chad and Mozambique — are countries where war, in which superpowers intervene directly or indirectly, is the true reality of life?

In Ethiopia, there is not only the fight of the Eritrean people, but other struggles for self-determination are occurring in the provinces of Gonda,

Tigre and Wallo. In Mozambique, where more than 100,000 have died in Tete province from the drought, the South African-supported Mozambique Resistance Movement has waged a war upon the Mozambican people, causing widespread suffering and a new refugee population. In Chad, the decade-long struggle for power has involved not only differing factions within Chad, but the intrusion of Libyan troops (with Russia's blessing) and French troops (with the U.S.'s blessing).

More than three years ago, in the News and Letters Committees Perspective Report of September, 1981, we warned of the impending disaster in a section entitled "On the Way to the Holocaust: Capitalist-Imperialist Alliances and World Hunger." We asked then, "What are any of the powers doing about world hunger?" The answer, now as it was then, is in reality nothing! Yes they are, finally, after a world outcry, sending in relief. But they are as ready as ever to start one more cycle of war and famine.

The mass starvation must stop. But it can only be stopped by uprooting and destroying capitalism, private and state, which continues to plunder the masses of this world. A fetishism of profit and power can only wreak famine and destruction upon humanity.

## BLACK-RED VIEW What Black vote revealed

by John Alan

A lot of the post-election so-called analysis dealt with the "racial polarization" of how the electorate voted: 90% of the Black vote going to Mondale and Reagan getting the majority of the white vote. This seemed to be a surprise to some of the electronic media pundits, who had long been informed by their pollsters about the voting trend. CBS's Bill Moyers became rather testy when Jesse Jackson couldn't give a reason why there was a racial polarization in voting, that is, why did so many whites who had considered themselves Democrats vote for the Republican Reagan. The not too subtle implication here is: is this a white backlash that grew from the idea that Blacks could play a decisive role in electing the President of the United States?

## RACE IN AMERICAN POLITICS

For over 200 years race has played a powerful role in American politics. There is no doubt that Reagan has skillfully used the race issue to get elected. Without mentioning Blacks, he has indicated that laws and so-called social programs that protect Blacks from the sharpest edges of racism represent catering to a "special interest group." This is a falsehood that has no shame.

Black America didn't have to wait for the Presidential election to discover the "racial polarization" in this country. We could cite numerous examples of it long before the election. One example would be the bitter racial election in Chicago two years ago, at which time large numbers of Chicago's white Democrats opted to support an unknown white Republican candidate, in lieu of supporting the Black Democratic candidate Harold Washington, for strictly racial reasons.

Neither Mondale nor the other front-runners in the Democratic party were too happy when Jesse Jackson made Black a political element in the primary. They saw the fragile seams of the Democratic party being ripped asunder. On the other hand, Reagan ignored Black people, yet remained acutely aware of their political and social presence. He didn't get his picture taken with "Mr. T," Michael Jackson and Black sports personalities because he loved to hang around with them.

However, in order to marshal any meaningful opposition to four more years of Reaganism, we have to look at the current wave of racism, not in the narrow sense of its immediate manifestation, but in the total sense, as a manifestation of the absolute crisis of capitalism. It is a crisis that Reagan has sold as a recovery, one which has the same rate of unemployment that the recession had, with millions of people in poverty.

## "STATE OF BLACK AMERICA, 1984"

At the beginning of this year, John E. Jacob, President of the Urban League, reported that the system and the so-called recovery weren't working for the majority of Black Americans. He wrote in *The State of Black America 1984* that the picture of Blacks holding jobs that they didn't have before, having little trouble with voting, getting elected to political offices, etc., is not the true picture of the state in which the majority of Blacks live. Underneath this picture, "a third of its (Black America's) people are below the poverty line. Half of the children live in poverty and have a 50% chance of growing up underprivileged, undereducated and underemployed. A third of the adults looking for work can't find it, and 2 out of 3 of its teenagers are in the same boat. Its average income is 58% of white America."

Jacob has presented substantially the same picture that the Catholic Bishops have painted in their recent draft letter on the polarization of poverty and wealth in the United States, only in the

situation of Blacks the extremes are much worse. But neither the Bishops nor Jacob have chosen to pursue this growing polarization of race and class to its origin in the gargantuan growth of technology and its concentration in war production, creating a permanent army of unemployed. Automation of production, over the years, has produced the so-called hard core Black unemployed and the euphemistically designated "underclass" of the Black ghettos. Thus for over a decade there has been no real or absolute increase in the Black living standard.

As grim as these statistics are, they shall not prevent Black masses from organizing to change these conditions. The Black movement has recently taken the form of the Miami revolts, of political support first to Jackson and later to Mondale. Earlier it had the form of militant action in coalition with labor and with other disinherited groups. We can not know the precise form of activity it will take in the future, but clearly the movement of Black people for freedom will not stop.

## Racism in the air

By Eugene Ford

Los Angeles, Cal.—The racist climate that helped sweep Reagan to power has led to a rise in racist incidents against Blacks in the Los Angeles area, the latest occurring in Fontana, a steel town east of Los Angeles.

In early October Sazon Davis, a Fontana resident, was walking home from the grocery store when three white youths drove up and started calling him n----. A verbal confrontation followed, with two whites jumping out of their car, one hitting Davis. Davis then ran into a vacant lot and threw a rock at the pursuing whites. When the whites caught up with him, they hit him, broke his neck, and dislocated his spinal cord. Davis is now permanently disabled.

Despite Fontana's history of racist attacks against Blacks, the District Attorney there refused to prosecute the white youth for their crime. He said, "It is not a crime to call someone a n----," and ruled that the whites acted in self-defense. Black organizations across Los Angeles, including the NAACP, are furious at this and are demanding justice for Sazon Davis.

The fact that this occurred shortly before Reagan's election is no accident. Four years ago a Black telephone company worker in Fontana was shot and permanently disabled by a white man who said that he was shooting crows. That, too, was called an accident by the District Attorney.

Fontana is known as the center of KKK activity in California. Some think that one of the whites who beat Davis is connected with the Klan. In recent years the KKK has tried to terrorize Blacks in Fontana with cross burnings and verbal abuse.

Reagan's drive for re-election has given the green light for racists to step up their attacks. Just as they intensified before his election four years ago, so they intensified before and after his election today. Many racist whites feel they can say and do openly what they were after all along—driving Blacks out of "their" communities.

This society tells you to go and prosper, that you can go and get out of the ghetto, but once a Black person gets out of the ghetto and moves into middle-class America, the racism still confronts you, only even more openly. This system makes it harder and harder for Blacks to live as full human beings.

# Strikes signal workers' battle against Reagan's war on labor

(continued from page 1)

The "promise of hi-tech" has gotten us only our first hi-tech president, elected using \$1.1 million worth of computers with 26 operators and analysts to tell him what to say at each moment of his campaign. What hi-tech has not done is solve the fundamental crisis of the falling rate of profit, as more and more millions have to be spent on automated factories to put just one living worker — the only source of new value and, hence, capitalist profit — to work.

## HI-TECH DEAD

Here is what hi-tech means for the worker: In Fremont, Calif., Apple Computer has just opened a new factory that is supposed to be the "flagship" of hi-tech manufacturing in the U.S. But in this factory, which cost \$20 million and will produce one Macintosh computer every 27 seconds, 90% of the assembly is done by machine and only 90 workers will be needed per shift. And they will have to keep up with the one-per-twenty-seven-seconds speed set by the machines!

But if that isn't bad enough, in Saginaw, Mich., General Motors is investing \$52 million to develop the ultimate capitalist dream: a factory that can

work an eight-hour shift with no production workers at all.

The reality of Reaganism is not only its Plan of trying to solve this fundamental crisis of the economy through hi-tech pipe dreams, vicious labor concessions and union busting and, ultimately, through constant preparation for the next war. The reality is also that Reaganism has given birth to its opposite, the constant strikes and other labor and Black resistance to it. That

and America, an America in opposition to everything Reaganism represents.

The Black Dimension is in the forefront of the opposition, and objective conditions can add to this Second America the dimensions of labor, youth and women. This deep opposition to Reaganism can be built if the vision we put forth is not limited to the alternative of the Democrats and their ilk, but instead works out a conception of total change, an uprooting of the social conditions of racism, of sexism, of class exploitation and imperialism, which Reagan and Reaganism embody.

## Liberation Theology in India

Bihar, India—You have asked me what I have to say about the fight between the church and followers of Liberation Theology and this is what I am going to take up today.

The Church is deeply divided all over the world and the root of this division lies in different attitudes towards revolution. There are those who want to keep up the status quo and have a terrible fear of Communism—it is like a "ghost" to them—and there are those who want to play some role and take some active part in building a new society.

Christianity, like every religion, has found itself historically always on the side of the powerful and has been a real block and obstacle to revolution. What comes to mind these days, when there is an ongoing movement in S. Africa, is how the Pope gave a medal to Botha when he visited the Vatican recently. There is, however, a growing awareness of this alliance with the powerful, and it is out of this awareness that Liberation Theology was born with the desire to participate in liberation struggles.

This movement has mostly taken place in South and Central American countries. One can think of several examples: Camilo Torres, the priest in Colombia who lost his life after joining the guerrillas; Archbishop Romero, who was killed in El Salvador; and many others in Nicaragua and the Philippines.

In India there have also been efforts to build a Theology of Liberation. Christians in India are an insignificant minority (2%). However, the Church has much power, since the best universities and educational and medical institutions are run by the Church. These institutions are mostly in the big cities and serving the rich and in many ways the Church is the servant of capital in a country like India.

There is an impressive number of priests and sisters who are becoming Marxists to different degrees. Marxist analysis of society is used by very many and the numbers are increasing. These priests and sisters automatically come in conflict with the Church. Some decide to leave by themselves, some are sent out by Church authorities and some try to go as far as they can from inside the Church institution as such.

An interesting phenomenon is how the traditional Left looks at these Christians. The Left has made public statements calling these priests and sisters "CIA agents who are trying to infiltrate the Party and destroy it from within." Some even say, "This is a new strategy of the Church to attract people for 'conversion.'"

My questions are: Can the Church that is so authoritarian, patriarchal and moralistic, that has plenty of "vested interests," be a revolutionary force? The Church preaches "reconciliation," neutrality, love to all, and is deathly afraid of "class struggle" when this very class struggle is going on inside the Church. Are they not deceiving themselves? They believe that there is a "third way" between capitalism and socialism. Where is that?

I am fully convinced that the struggle has to be "secular," specifically in India where communalism plays such an important role, where allegiance to a religious group or caste overrides class consciousness and where religious revaluation (Hindutva) plays an increasing role to counteract the disintegration which goes along with the deepening crisis of capitalism. The interesting thing is that dissidents from the Church and dissidents from traditional parties go along together and come closer to each other.

Finally I should conclude by saying that Liberation Theology was my first step towards "conversion" and that surely India has made me Marxist and feminist. Were I back in Europe, I would still be a "very good Catholic."

In sisterhood,  
P.



"You ain't seen nothing yet!"

reality of the human forces of anti-Reaganism has been virtually blacked out by the press, as the media have been so easily sucked into kowtowing to Reaganism as they make virtual "unpersons" of the opposition. Thus:

- Six thousand four hundred workers at the General Dynamics Corporation in Fort Worth, Tex., have gone out on strike after an overwhelming 4,936 to 108 rejection of the concessions contract this rich military contractor of the F-16 jet fighter wanted to force on them. These members of the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers are determined that Reaganism and its scabs will not beat them down, and have held militant picket lines to keep the scabs out, as they fight police and fire hoses to make sure Reaganism won't win this battle.

- The growing anger and disgust of U.S. workers can also be seen in the actions of Black and Arab workers at U.S. Auto Radiator in Detroit, who recently stopped production over working conditions. (See story page 3.)

- In New York, 800 workers at Alarm Device Manufacturing Co. (Ademco, a division of multinational Pitway Corp.) on Long Island have just won a strike that forced the company to give up all its concession demands, the principal one of which was the demand for unlimited subcontracting. The Long Island workers, members of District 65 United Auto Workers, had the support of the unions representing the European workers, and on the first morning of the strike had gone in carloads to Philadelphia, Boston and points west to get support at other Pitway plants. In Puerto Rico the Pitway workers made sure no struck work was transferred to their plant, as did Pitway workers in Aurora, Ill., and teamsters who refused to cross the Ademco picket lines.

## FACING FACTS

Though we keep our eyes on such opposition to Reaganism, we at the same time cannot hide from his electoral win.

We have to face soberly the fact that much of the youth vote did go to Reagan. It in no sense has meant the disappearance of the anti-war, anti-nuke movement. But it does mean the growth of Yuppies who feel they have a stake in the Reagan economy. But even this group is no automatic supporter of Reaganomics as can be shown at upper-class Yale University where the strike of clerical workers has inspired many of these supposed conservative students to militant support of the struggle. (See story page 11.)

Nor can we forget that the so-called "gender gap" was almost non-existent, as an actual majority of women voted for Reagan. The women's movement can in no sense be reduced to electoral politics either by the media, or by politicians, women or men. It needs to find new pathways forward.

And perhaps the starkest reality we need to face is that a substantial section of the working class put aside its class sense in a vote based on a narrow idea of patriotism, of the jingoist "America is back" and of a separation from Black America.

The point for us now is to find new points of departure to get beyond this defeat and work to overthrow Reaganism. No matter how much tinsel and hoopla Reagan tries to foist upon the American people and in fact the world, it cannot hide the persistence of a Sec-

## 'Country' — bitter harvest

A firestorm is raging through the U.S. countryside that has been smoldering for years, but is now ravaging the heart of American agriculture—the family farm. While Reagan, the modern day Nero, fiddles his happy-talk tune of economic recovery and Agriculture Secretary Block proclaims that "farmers are living better than ever," the administration is feeding the flames that are destroying what had been the most productive sector of the American economy.

The movie "Country" reveals the economic and personal crisis of the Ivys, a farm family in Iowa who are threatened with the loss of their farm. The movie successfully captures the spirit of traditional farm life and the immersion of personal identity into the land that has made farming a way of life and not just a business, but that has also made the loss of the farm a personal as well as an economic tragedy.

## WORKING FOR THE BANK

The farm family in the movie may appear to many to be rich, having 200 acres with an asset value of over \$400,000. But the size of that farm is less than half the national average; it produced a poverty level income of only \$9,000 for the Ivy family of four; it is almost too small to survive, and that \$400,000 in assets are in reality owned by the bank.

Farmers have become debt-ridden because of the need to borrow against their equity in the land and to mortgage their fall crops in order to cover their operating costs, as net farm income dropped to the lowest level in this century. As the movie reveals, good farmers who are producing record crops have to sell their grain at prices that are below the cost of production.

Meanwhile, the value of land has declined by 23% nationwide since 1981 and by another 5.5% in Iowa and other states between July and September alone. The resultant credit squeeze on farmers is fatal. If a 250-acre farm valued at \$500,000 in 1981 has declined in value to about \$375,000 today, the maximum loan amount at 80% of value would have dropped \$100,000. The Reagan Administration, acting through the Farmers Home Administration (FHA), and numerous banks are calling in these loans for "re-evaluation." In real life as for the Ivys, re-evaluation means that the farmer must immediately pay off that \$100,000 loan margin.

The result is liquidation and foreclosure. Over 200,000 farm families have lost their farms since Reagan took office—equivalent to the total number of farm families in Texas. An estimated one-third of all family farms in Iowa will fail by 1986. Even the Farm Credit Administration projects that, under present policy, the family farm will be extinct in ten years.

## REAGAN POLICY

One fact the movie is fuzzy on is that the FHA functionary who is cracking down on "bad loans" is shown as a bumbling bureaucrat, not an agent of deliberate Reagan policy. That policy gave us the payment-in-kind (PIK) program in 1983 that gave away \$18 billion in grain to mostly large, absentee landowners and further reduced grain prices.

The movie's epilogue is also somewhat misleading. In 1984 the courts did temporarily enjoin FHA from further foreclosures due to violations of due process, but farmers will not be able to save their farms in the long run on procedural grounds. In the words of the FHA functionary to Mrs. Ivy: she had won only a temporary battle, but he would win the war because she would not be able to stop the farm auction from being moved to another county or another state, where it would be more difficult to organize friends to help stop it.

Farmers were successful during the 1930s in stopping many foreclosure sales or turning them into "penny" sales, in which other farmers would buy the farm for a penny per acre and give it back to the farmer being foreclosed. The true message of hope, in this movie as in reality, lies in farmers organizing against, resisting and stopping foreclosure sales until they regain control over the ownership and use of the capital needed for production.

The resistance movement among farmers is growing, because more and more farmers are acting on the realization that they all are the targets of capital manipulation in this country.

—Nick Demeter

Special holiday offer

See page 12

# BLACK WORLD

(continued from page 1)

More importantly, it was a people's revolt which, by its spontaneity and self-organization, challenged the 27-year-long rule of the despotic Duvalier regime outside the confines of elite Haitian opposition politics.

## NEO-SLAVERY IN FACTORY AND FIELD

The exploitation of Haiti's urban poor by such U.S. corporations as TRW, GTE Sylvania and the three major U.S. sporting goods corporations, as well as numerous textile and electronics industries, sets Haiti at the lowest end of Western capitalism's Third World "free enterprise zones." Moreover, Haiti's status as the low-wage capital of the world is based on a "feminization" of poverty and production: women are two-thirds of the new industrial work force in Port-au-Prince, while women and children comprise the mass of the urban poor.

Lower still, however, are Haiti's agricultural migrant workers who have been forced down to the level of a modern day chattel slavery in the Dominican Republic's sugar industry, dominated today by American multinational corporations like Gulf and Western. It is on that Spanish-speaking side of the island of Hispaniola that Haitian labor makes up 80% of the work force in an industry which accounts for 40% of the Dominican economy's foreign exchange. And despite the fact that the Dominican peso has parity with the U.S. dollar due in large part to the surplus profits extracted from Haitian migrant labor, forced to work 12 hours a day for two pesos, it didn't prevent the Dominican masses from revolting against their government's food price increases one month before the Haitian rebellions.

Ever since 1952, when the U.S.-installed dictatorship of General Trujillo and the Haitian government signed a recruitment treaty making "official" the *bracero* system that had been unofficially practiced since the period of the 1915 imperialist invasion of Haiti by the U.S., the two governments have practiced the legalized slavery of the Haitian peasantry. The 16,000 Haitian migrants recognized and "paid for" by the Dominican government do not account for the tens of thousands of undocumented workers who flow across the border annually.

Historically, payment for Haitian migrants has its origins in Trujillo's genocidal massacre of some 30,000 Haitians living in the Dominican Republic in 1937. When news of the atrocities leaked to the world, Trujillo made a "symbolic" restitution of \$750,000 to the Haitian government. From that exchange of blood money, the two governments have traded in the exploited labor of the Haitian peasantry.

## SOURCE OF PEASANT RESISTANCE

The famous Haitian ethnographer and forerunner of *negritude*, Jean Price-Mars, called attention to the slave conditions of the Haitian migrant, but also pointed to the cooperative elements to be found in the Haitian peasant economy. Thus, while it is true that peasant farming in Haiti is no more technologically developed than the state-owned Dominican sugar plantations, the Haitian peasantry has evolved indigenous cooperative forms of production and marketing totally removed from government interference. As Haitian economist and agronomist Jean-Jacques Honorat concluded in 1974: "The Haitian peasant purely and simply ignores the government...and opposes it with an underground customary law which alone regulates intracommunity relations."

Still, the economic pressures of the present crisis, due to the loss of land through soil erosion

and deforestation plus heavy government taxation and political repression, drives the Haitian peasant by the thousands into the Dominican *bateyes*



A Haitian worker making basketballs for a U.S. company

## THEORY / PRACTICE

(continued from page 5)

a reductionist, Levine never finds space anywhere to attack or even to mention Stalin's revision of dialectics and especially of Marx's *Capital*, in 1943. Then, official Russian economists were ordered to skip the first chapter of *Capital*, and to "teach" that book in chronological rather than Marx's dialectical order, paralleling Levine's concept of concentrating on "preconditions" of capitalism only. Still more seriously, the Russian Stalinists also claimed that Marx's law of value applied under "socialism."

When Raya Dunayevskaya translated this Stalinist perversion of Marx and wrote an accompanying article arguing that they were thereby laying the theoretical basis for a state-capitalist society (*American Economic Review*, No. 3, 1944), Paul Baran and Oskar Lange both debated her in that journal for a full year, in an attempt to defend Stalinist economics. The debate also reached the *New York Times* (Oct. 1, 1944).

Failing to confront the objective as well as subjective motivations in Stalin's laying his brutal state-capitalist hands on Marx's greatest theoretical work, *Capital*, with his proposal not to study Chapter One, based on the pragmatic pull of a new stage of production, it then became unavoidable for Levine as revolutionary to make an abstraction of it himself and rhetorically to attempt to force a "union" between Lenin and Mao.

## LENIN AND MAO: A UNITY OF OPPOSITES

Levine's discussion of Lenin, even though it centers on what he terms "Hegelianized Leninism," again evades the central ground of Hegel's Subjective Logic, the *Doctrine of the Notion*. Another problem is his attitude of overemphasizing Lenin's 1908 vulgar materialist book *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*, a work which Lenin had in mind when he declared in his 1914-15 *Philosophical Notebooks*: "It is impossible completely to understand Marx's *Capital*, and especially its first chapter, without having thoroughly studied and understood the whole of Hegel's *Logic*. Consequently half a century later none of the Marxists understood Marx!" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 38, p. 180) The phrase "none of

(peasant ghettos adjoining the sugar mills), into the urban ghettos and low-wage assembly plants in Port-au-Prince, and onto the dangerous 500-mile "middle passage" to the Florida coast.

Once at sea, the Haitians are not wanted by any nation. Cuba offers them provisions for continuing their journey, but not sanctuary. Other island nations have forcibly driven them back into the sea. And in their final destination of the U.S. they are imprisoned, sent to concentration camps and ultimately forced to become the cheapest source of farm labor for American agribusiness, subsisting in conditions not much better than those in the Dominican Republic.

Therefore, the recent court decision, reversing what immigration lawyers have called "the Dred Scott Decision for refugees," finally overthrowing the Reagan Administration policy of brutally detaining Haitian emigrants, is, as we have seen, but a single episode in the ceaseless struggle of the Haitian masses to realize the Idea of freedom born in the Black world 180 years ago when the Haitian Revolution helped to "unchain the dialectic of liberation."

the Marxists" is a repudiation not only of Plekhanov and Kautsky, but also of his own 1908 book. Unfortunately, Lenin's own "philosophical ambivalence" left the road open for Levine's type of misinterpretation when he allowed that 1908 work to be republished in Russian in 1920, and did not make his *Philosophical Notebooks* public.

When Levine does finally get to those *Philosophical Notebooks* on Hegel, he gives them short shrift, spending most of his time discussing the early parts of the *Notebooks* where Lenin was still clinging to "materialism" versus Hegel's "idealism." Since he does not discuss fully what Lenin discussed most in his *Notebooks*—the final book on the *Notion*, including the *Absolute Idea*—he ends not with Hegel's concept of subjectivity, but rather with a voluntarist reading of Lenin: "Lenin had broadened the eleventh thesis in Marx's *Theses on Feuerbach* to the level of consciousness..." (301)

Marx's eleventh thesis reads: "Philosophers have only interpreted the world, in various ways; the point is, however, to change it." Most post-Marx Marxists, including Levine, read this as a rejection of philosophy in favor of changing the world. In fact, a careful reading of the eleventh thesis plus the first ten theses shows no such separation in Marx between philosophy and activity, as is clear beyond the peradventure of a doubt when Marx gives credit to the idealist Hegel and not the materialist Feuerbach for developing the dialectic. A more thorough reading of Lenin's *Philosophical Notebooks* than Levine presents would show that Levine has misread both Lenin on dialectics and Marx's eleven theses.

Not fully grasping the Marxian type of subjectivity is in fact Levine's central flaw. All of Lenin's creative discussion of Hegel is reduced to the imperative to "change the world," i.e. philosopher as activist. Lenin certainly did not have to read Hegel to become a revolutionary. What Hegel did help him to do was to break with many old concepts of politics and philosophy carried over from the Second International.

Levine's last chapter, which praises Mao to the skies, in both politics and philosophy, makes a sad ending to a work which had wrestled with some key questions. The voluntarist bent of Levine here reaches its full fruition whether in denying Mao was a voluntarist (393) or two pages later nonetheless praising him because: "Will was vital to Mao." (395) This work shows more than the fact of one theorist continuing to cling to Mao. It shows, even more disturbingly, the possibility of falling into such a trap as Maoism, once one philosophically limits subjectivity in Marx, Hegel and Lenin to a mere rejection of the determinism of Engels and the Second International.

In reducing philosophical subjectivity to antideterminism, the road is then open to grab onto Mao's or some other form of vanguardism, rather than appreciating the masses themselves as creative, self-developing subjects of history, whose practice is itself a form of theory. When one makes that reduction to anti-determinism, one can avoid the hard intellectual labor of working out a new relation of philosophy to revolution based on an appreciation of mass creativity in the international freedom movements.

6. For discussion of this see Dunayevskaya, *Philosophy and Revolution*, pp. 95-120.

## Who We Are and What We Stand For

News and Letters Committees, an organization of Marxist-Humanists, stands for the abolition of capitalism, whether in its private property form as in the U.S., or its state property form as in Russia or China. We stand for the development of a new human society based on the principles of Marx's Humanism as recreated for our day.

*News & Letters* was created so that the voices of revolt from below could be heard not separated from the articulation of a philosophy of liberation. A Black production worker, Charles Denby, author of *Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal*, became editor of the paper. Raya Dunayevskaya, the Chairwoman of the National Editorial Board and National Chairwoman of the Committees, is the author of *Marxism and Freedom, Philosophy and Revolution* and *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*, which spell out the philosophic ground of Marx's Humanism internationally as *American Civilization on Trial* concretizes it on the American scene and shows the two-way road between the U.S. and Africa. These works challenge post-Marx Marxists to return to Marx's Marxism. At a time when the nuclear world is threatened with the extinction of civilization itself it becomes imperative not only to reject what is, but to reveal the revolutionary Humanist future in-

herent in the present.

*News & Letters* was founded in 1955, the year of the Detroit wildcats against Automation and the Montgomery Bus Boycott against segregation — activities which signalled a new movement from practice which was itself a form of theory. We organized ourselves in Committees rather than any elitist party "to lead." The development of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S., 1941 to Today is recorded in the documents and on microfilm available to all under the title, *The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection*, on deposit at the Labor History Archives of Wayne State University.

In opposing the capitalistic, racist, sexist, exploitative society, we participate in all class and freedom struggles, nationally and internationally. As our *Constitution* states: "It is our aim ... to promote the firmest unity among workers, Blacks and other minorities, women, youth and those intellectuals who have broken with the ruling bureaucracy of both capital and labor." We do not separate the mass activities from the activity of thinking. Anyone who is a participant in these freedom struggles for totally new relations and a fundamentally new way of life, and who believes in these principles, is invited to join us. Send for a copy of the *Constitution* of News and Letters Committees.

# YOUTH

## Yale: stop discrimination

by Mary Holmes

New Haven, Conn.—With spirits high, striking Yale University workers of Local 34 Clerical & Technical, students, faculty and community supporters organized a three-day Moratorium Nov. 14-16 to show the Yale Corp. they will not be starved into submission after seven weeks on the picket line.

During the Moratorium, strikers and supporters engaged in roving pickets, mass marches and rallies, speak-outs and teach-ins. Workers held classes on the history of their union and issues in the strike. Students and faculty labor workshops on comparable pay, the Black and labor movements, and organizing a student union. Feminists and minority students held meetings and vigils.

### LABOR SOLIDARITY

On Friday, over 1,000 people joined a Rally Against Discrimination on the medical school campus and listened as workers and supporters spoke out (see statements below). During the rally, Local 34 members announced messages of solidarity and contributions to the strike relief fund from VA hospital workers in West Haven, from campus workers at the NY Fashion Institute of Technology, and three-days-pay donations from non-scabbing medical school personnel continuing to work but supporting the C&T strikers. A contingent of professors from New York City marched in to join the rally, and Local 1199 Yale workers wore armbands and held a two-hour slowdown to show support.

One student carried a picket sign stating, "Yale is too busy union busting to bother educating." Students have been carrying on their own education through the strike. They have held potlucks and other events to raise money for the strike relief fund. One grad student said the Moratorium had been organized to put pressure on the Yale

## Youth in Revolt

On Nov. 15, 264 students occupied the headquarters of South Korea's ruling "Democratic Justice" Party, demanding adoption of a minimum wage and other reforms. Most critical is a new unity with workers, as shown for instance by a September march of 2,000 students and garment workers in a Seoul's Kuro sweatshop district, in protest of working conditions and Gen. Chun's dictatorship. So potent has the movement become that in October the Government dropped its months-old "reform" of letting campuses police themselves and sent 6,000 cops to Seoul National University to break a student strike.

Twenty-five students surrounded a CIA recruiter at Tufts University in Massachusetts Oct. 3, preventing him from recruiting students. After 150 student and faculty supporters attended a disciplinary hearing at which the original protestors presented a defense that attacked the CIA's crimes, the protestors were vindicated and CIA recruiting on campus was suspended. Only three weeks later the president of Tufts lifted the ban, saying he would not "discriminate against the government of the U.S."

School officials in Peoria, Ill., have banned from school libraries three books by Judy Blume, one of the most popular authors of children's books in the U.S. Officials called the books "inappropriate" for young children, meaning that they portray children as real human beings with developing sexuality.

Two hundred anti-nuclear demonstrators formed a blockade at the Great Lakes Naval Training Center north of Chicago to protest against U.S. naval maneuvers in Central America. Twenty-one demonstrators were arrested but the rest continued to picket and moved their demonstration to Sheridan Road where they blocked the street.

Corp.: "Students for a Negotiated Settlement went door-to-door on campus and spoke out in their class on the issues workers have raised in the strike, asking other students to participate. The strike has raised everyone's consciousness. Now undergrads are talking about organizing their own union: for example, as a way to get funding for student organizations which is hard at Yale because of the 'college system.' Grad students are talking union as a way to give teaching assistants a voice and rights."

### NO SETTLEMENT, NO SERVICE

Another student related an incident of community support: a waitress at a local diner refused to serve Yale president Giametti, telling him she opposed his attitude to the women workers and his refusal to settle the strike.

One of the most significant acts of solidarity was the refusal of maintenance and food service workers in Local 35 to cross the C&T picket line. Their contract is up at the beginning of the year. But the heart and power of the strike are the C&T workers themselves, overwhelmingly women, whose determination, eloquence and creativity in carrying on their own fight has inspired the students and so many others far beyond the Yale campus.

At the Friday rally, the striking women did not speak about comparable pay or discrimination "as such," so much as they spoke about how they want to change their lives and work inseparable from changing this Ivy League citadel of racism and sexism. At the very same time, Reagan appointees Clarence Pendleton and Linda Chavez of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission called a press conference to attack the idea of comparable pay and ridicule it as "looney."

The Yale Corp. knows it has an ally in Ronald Reagan, strike-breaker. Yet, Yale workers know who their supporters are. Messages and contributions can be sent to: Local 34, Federation of University Employees, 88 Prospect St., New Haven, CT 06511.

## Other Yale voices

Dolores, Local 34 and the Minority Alliance: Yale is surrounded by poverty neighborhoods in the seventh poorest U.S. city, and it continues to discriminate. At the medical school, Blacks are only 13% of C&Ts. Recently, a number of them were laid off or reduced to part-time hours. We are fighting for a better Yale and we can only get it through a better contract.

Woman worker: To talk about sexual discrimination makes Yale nervous. They say it's too big an issue, or that it's a social problem they can't solve here, or that it's our own fault we take low-paying jobs. They say that when women take time out to have children, they lose training and experience. But I'm tired of being penalized because I have the ability to bear children. We need maternity leave with no loss of seniority.

Velma, Black worker: I've worked at Yale four years. I started at \$6000. A Black man came here two years ago at \$8000. White workers, women and men, start higher up than that. This is Yale's fault.

Latin American student: Where I come from students are in the forefront of many struggles. It was strange for me to see some students against the union or for the Grenada invasion. That is why it is important to see students here in support of what the workers are trying to do.

# Study and Struggle

## Poor psychology, poor Marx

by Ida Fuller

Ever since the Free Speech Movement raised the concept of alienation in education, and aroused interest in Marx's theory of the individual and his philosophy of a "new Humanism," many books have been written on the topic of Marxism and alienation. A recent one by Peter Leonard (*Personality and Ideology: Towards a Materialist Understanding of the Individual*), while it pretends to be Marxist, is an actual diversion from Marxism, turning his philosophy of freedom into a justification of alienation as a permanent condition of life. Since this book might be used in college campuses, it becomes important to critique it.

Leonard is a social worker who claims to have moved from the "reformism" of psychoanalysis to "Marxism." By taking the premise that the "ideological victories of the Right" have "manipulated" human consciousness, he aims to combine Marxism and psychoanalysis to present a historical materialist theory of the individual. But before bringing in a word from Marx, he jumps to conclude that there has been a "historical gap in Marxist theory about the individual." He wants to fill it by developing further "feminist" theory.

### FEMINISM MINUS WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

Not once does he discuss the history of the Women's Liberation Movement. Instead feminism is reduced to "rendering an account of the oppression of women," and Michelle Barrett's conclusions on the "uneasy relationship" of Marxism and feminism are presented as given.

He tries to develop a similar theory for the individual by quoting Sartre in *Search for a Method*: "Marxism lacks any 'hierarchy' of mediations...to grasp the process which produces the person." He claims that with Freud's theory of the unconscious, Reich's theory of internalized repression and Marcuse's theory of surplus repression, he can fill the "gap" in Marxism. Thus, theory becomes a mere explanation of how the system "manipulated" individuals.

One expects to find the high point of the book in his chapter "Personality theory from within Historical Materialism," since two very appropriate works from Marx are chosen: the 1844 *Economic-Philosophic Manuscripts* and chapter 1 of *Capital* on the "fetishism of commodities." In those essays Marx separates himself from "quite vulgar and unthinking communism" which "negates the personality of man." He calls his philosophy a "new Humanism," and develops a vision of totally new man/woman relations, of the individual as the "social entity." There, he discerns the alienation in the process of labor and the laborer responding with its absolute opposite, a "quest for Universality."

One is surprised that Leonard does not discuss any of these Universals but merely uses Marx's essays to "prove" his own point about "capitalism inducing in the individual an acceptance of alienated labor." This is the exact opposite of Marx's view on labor as resistance that matures into revolution.

### FETISHISM PROVED

Furthermore, Leonard bases himself on the writings of the French Communist Party theoretician Lucienne Seve to prove that the "fetishism of commodities" creates a "positive lack of awareness" because only skilled workers who have free time can think! But Marx's "fetishism of commodities" long ago singled out intellectuals who become "prize fighters" for capital and accept its mode of thought.

Leonard dismisses Black, working-class women and welfare mothers as depression victims, puts the unemployed and physically handicapped in the category "subordinate marginality," and considers youth and Blacks "multiply subordinate" because they are taught to "identify" with the system.

While holding on to his theory of "manipulation," Leonard calls for "praxis," which he identifies with Mao. To Marx, praxis was critical-practical revolutionary activity, to Leonard it is "negotiating with state officials" and "understanding the social order."

What could be further from the reality of our age, the totality of its crisis and the passion for uprooting this exploitative, sexist, racist society?

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# OUR LIFE AND TIMES

# Marxist humanists on trial in Yugoslavia

by Kevin A. Barry and Mary Holmes

A disgusting Stalinist-type trial is underway in Belgrade, Yugoslavia, where six Left and mainly Marxist humanist oppositionists — Vladimir Mijanovic, Dragomir Olujic, Miodrag Milic, Pavlusko Imsirovic, Gordan Jovanovic and Milan Nikolic — face five to fifteen years in prison simply for holding political discussion meetings. Most of the six were active in the student revolt of 1968. Most are associated with members of the Praxis group of philosophers and sociologists who have, since the early 1960s, published first the Marxist humanist journal Praxis inside Yugoslavia and later Praxis International from abroad when Praxis was banned.

The pretext for the current trial developed out of a discussion meeting of these Belgrade intellectuals, held last April and attended by 28 people at a private apartment. Such meetings, called the "Free University," have been organized by members of the Praxis group for the past seven years without incident. The April 20 meeting was unusual because of the presence of a single liberal, pro-American dissident Milovan Djilas. Police swooped in and arrested the 28. Djilas is not on trail. But eight

people were arbitrarily singled out to go on trial. One, Radomir Radovic, committed suicide, apparently because of police pressure. Another, Vojislav Seselj, has already received an eight-year sentence, reduced to four after protests.

Inside Yugoslavia, over 1,000 people signed a defense petition, stunning the government. The six carried on a hunger strike and won pre-trial release, a rarity in Yugoslavia. We can give the following information on the six defendants:

●Vladimir Mijanovic, a 38-year-old philosophy student who has already served a year in prison twice for "hostile propaganda." Mijanovic was a prominent leader of the 1968 student uprisings. He has refused to take part in his obviously staged trial, stating that the trial proceedings are meaningless because "the final decision rests with the politicians." Though not even at the April meeting, he was arrested after protesting the death of Radovic.

●Dragomir Olujic, a 35-year-old radio journalist. Olujic was part of a small group who were arrested in 1982 for suddenly hoisting Solidarnosc banners in the middle of an officially-sponsored pro-PLO youth rally, just as

the PLO representative began to speak.

●Gordan Jovanovic, a 23-year-old philosophy student who has held previous dissident meetings at his apartment, and who was also arrested for the 1982 pro-Solidarnosc picket.

●Miodrag Milic, 55 and unemployed. He had asked that Djilas be invited and has since said that a security policeman threatened him with death during an interrogation.

●Pavlusko Imsirovic, a 36-year-old translator, also arrested in the 1982 pro-Solidarnosc incident.

●Milan Nikolic, a 34-year-old sociologist. Other "charges" against him include owning a copy of New Left Review with an article on Yugoslavia's Kosovo province and having written a term paper critical of the Yugoslav bureaucracy for a course with Ralph Miliband at Brandeis university. He has also served time previously for political offenses.

International support is beginning to build for the six Belgrade defendants. Contact: Helsinki Watch, 36 W. 44th St., New York, N.Y. 10036, or Committee Against the Repression of Yugoslav Intellectuals, c/o Profs. Lucius Outlaw and Richard Bernstein, Haverford College, Haverford, PA. 19041, Tel. 215-896-1025.

## India after Indira

The assassination of Indira Gandhi horrified the world and yet was predictable from the moment her troops, urged on by her son and successor, Rajiv Gandhi, stormed the Sikh temple in Amritsar. The massacres which followed her death killed hundreds of innocent Sikhs and, even more horrifically than in the Hindu-Muslim riots which accompanied independence in 1947, these massacres seemed planned rather than spontaneous. Rajiv Gandhi, the son, disappeared, supposedly into his private grief, for several days after the assassination of his mother, during which time the Congress Party-inspired mobs raged. Even after these outrages, Rajiv could still state in a public speech on Nov. 19: "We have to take revenge" for his mother's death. After the applause died down, he added that he didn't mean "through anger or hatred."

The assassination was a tragedy for India, not because Indira Gandhi had reformed Indian social conditions, as she had frequently promised, but for the opposite reason. It sharply exposed her failure and that of her father Nehru to change the class, caste and religion-based oppressive conditions of Indian society, after India's winning independence in 1947.

As Raya Dunayevskaya wrote in News & Letters over 20 years ago, "No fundamental change in human relations followed independence...The dominant Congress Party, which had succeeded in uniting all classes against foreign domination, first began showing its true class nature by leaving production relations, in the city or the country,

basically unchanged." (N&L, 11/63)

Today within India the Congress Party is fragmented, with an even more conservative opposition waiting in the wings. And from without, the U.S. and Russia and China wait to move into any void.

## British, Polish miners

When it was revealed Oct. 28 that miners' representatives from Scargill's leadership had met with Libyan dictator Qaddafi to gain his "support," this "support," gleefully publicized by the bourgeois press, was instead the greatest blow so far against the British miners.

A very different type of support has been building from the grass roots of the Polish Solidarnosc movement. While top leaders in Poland such as Walesa have hesitated to support British miners, and Britain's Scargill has done likewise toward Solidarnosc, new rank-and-file pressures in Poland and Britain have created a far different type of relationship. From deep within the underground in the Polish mining region of Upper Silesia, David Jastrzebski, a Solidarnosc regional leader, wrote to Scargill:

"We believe that you will achieve your aim. Neither the charges of the mounted police, nor the truncheons of the British government, any more than the doors forced down by the tanks or the firing upon disarmed miners by the junta of Polish generals, will be able to break our willingness to struggle for a better future for the working class.

"We understand that your struggle is in fact a struggle for the survival of the British trade union movement. We have already condemned, and we repeat with vigor our condemnation (of) the export of coal to Great Britain by the Jaruzelski regime. Given that Thatcher is on such good terms with Jaruzelski, we think that the time has come to draw certain lessons. We hope, therefore, that in the name of worker solidarity you will modify your negative attitude towards our movement."

By mid-October, a British miners' delegation was visiting Poland and began thus to create worker-to-worker solidarity across international lines. They did not get to see Walesa directly, but it is perhaps the beginning of a new type of relationship in the international labor movement.

## Dominican Republic demonstrations

On Nov. 7, students confronted the government directly as police invaded the Autonomous University of Santo Domingo (UA) campus to break up a demonstration against any government cuts in the university budget. The students fought police for several days running, and the struggle was picked up by senior and junior high school youth who took to the streets in support of UA students and against the hunger and misery of their own lives. Hundreds of students were arrested. Authorities were forced to suspend classes in the schools.

By the next week, primary and secondary students had organized in all

the major cities in support of the UA demands and against negotiations begun by Blanco for a stand-by agreement with the IMF. Each such move has meant more hardship for the poor. Prices in the D.R. continue to skyrocket. Most recently, milk went from 25 to 75 centavos. In one year the cost of living has risen 50%. As the protests continued, youth in the barrios set up barricades of burning tires and in some instances caught and disarmed police. Parents cursed police who invaded their homes to drag off their children in sweeps of poor neighborhoods for "leftists." Police used tear gas bombs on the students and many were seriously injured.

A study critical of Pres. Jorge Blanco's economic policies released last month told the poor and rebellious of the Dominican Republic what they know already in their daily lives: that conditions have gone from bad to worse. Besides the 25% unemployed, nearly half those who do work are underemployed. Their monthly pay comes nowhere close to the 175 peso (about \$58) minimum wage. Many marginal workers ("chiriperos") survive by selling pencils, postcards and other trifles, cleaning tombstones in cemeteries, peddling at sports events, or washing windshields at highway intersections.

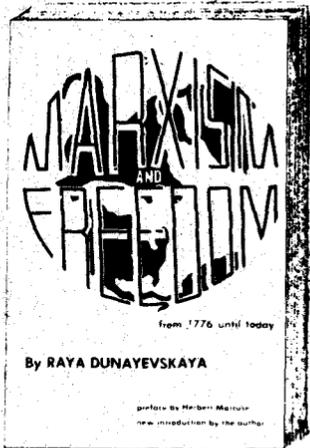
## Azania labor revolt

The Nov. 5-6 strike of 500,000 Black workers in apartheid South Africa's key Johannesburg-Pretoria area marked a new stage of Black revolt. Fully 40% of the Black workers joined in. At the same time 250,000 students struck. Sixteen Blacks were killed by the white government's soldiers, bringing the death toll since August to over 160 as the wave of revolt brought about by the new constitution continues, despite massive arrests and military searches in the Black community.

The protest strikes, organized by the Transvaal Regional Stayaway Committee, involved a close alliance of community, labor and student groups, and Black Consciousness as well as ANC-oriented organizations. One strike leader, Chris Dhlamini, President of the Federation of South African Trade Unions (FOSATU), stated before he was arrested:

"Our members and other workers are being sucked dry by bloodthirsty industrialists and the government. How can we be silent when the children of our members are killed like animals in the streets of the townships? How can we be silent when we are denied basic human rights in the land of our birth?"

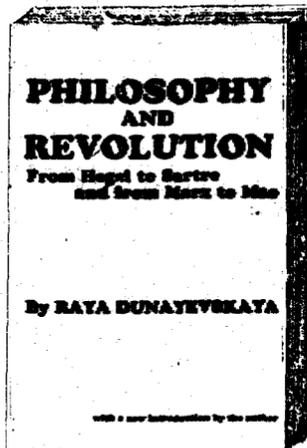
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